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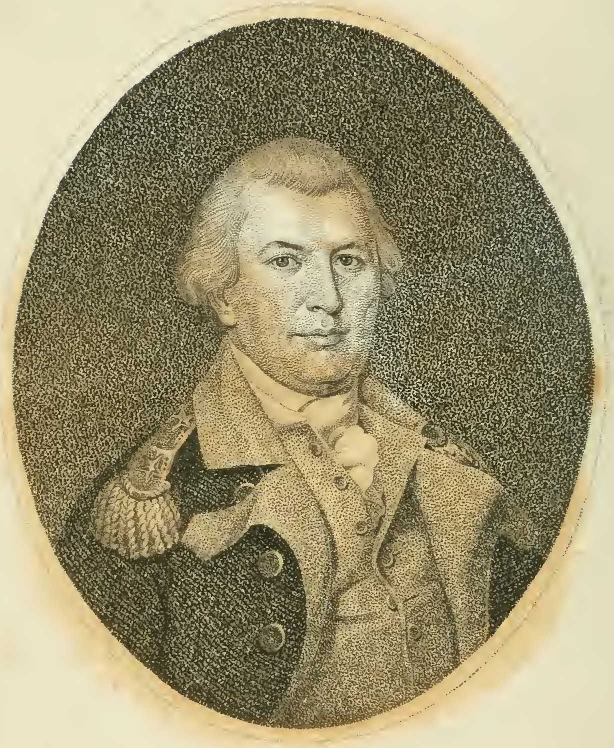

Edwin sc.

Gen. N. Greene.

From the original Painting by C. W. Peale in the
Philadelphia Museum.

MEMOIRS OF THE WAR

IN THE

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY HENRY LEE,
LIEUTENANT COLONEL COMMANDANT OF THE PARTISAN LEGION
DURING THE AMERICAN WAR.

——— Quæque ipse miserrima vidi
Et quorum pars fui. ———
VIRGIL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY BRADFORD AND INSKEEP;
AND
INSKEEP AND BRADFORD, NEW YORK.
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1812.

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>
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> " Et quorum pars fui. ——————— *Virgil.*
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> In two volumes.

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D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the district of Pennsylvania.

MEMOIRS OF THE WAR

IN THE

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

THE determination of the mind, to relinquish the soft scenes of tranquil life for the rough adventures of war, is generally attended with the conviction that the act is laudable; and with a wish, that its honorable exertions should be faithfully transmitted to posterity. These sentiments lead to the cultivation of virtue; and the effect of the one is magnified by the accomplishment of the other. In usefulness to society, the degree is inconsiderable between the conduct of him who performs great achievements, and of him wh orecords them; for short must be the remembrance, circumscribed the influence, of patriotic exertions and heroic exploits, unless the patient historian retrieves them from oblivion, and holds them up conspicuously to future ages. "Sæpè audivi, says Sallust, Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros vi-

ros, solitos ita dicere, cùm majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque priùs sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit."*—Sall. Bell. Jugur.

Regretting, as we all do, that not one of the chief actors in our camp or cabinet, and indeed very few of our fellow citizens, have attempted to unfold the rise, or to illustrate the progress and termination of our revolution, I have been led to this my undertaking with a hope of contributing, in some degree, to repair the effects of this much lamented indifference. With this view, I am about to write memoirs of the southern campaigns, being that part of the war with which I am best acquainted, and which in its progress and issue materially contributed to our final success, and to the enlargement of our military fame. Desirous of investing the reader with a full and clear understanding of the operations to be described, I shall commence these memoirs at the beginning of the third year of the war; for the principal events which occurred thereafter, laid the foundation of the change in the enemy's conduct, and turned the tide and fury of the conflict from the north to the south.

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* "Often have I heard," says Sallust, "that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other renowned men of our commonwealth, used to say that whenever they beheld the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds vehemently excited to virtue. It could not be the wax or the marble which possessed this power; but the recollection of their great actions kindled a generous flame in their breasts, not to be quelled, till they also by virtue had acquired equal fame and glory."

When I engaged in this undertaking, many of my military comrades, capable and willing to contribute their aid to the fulfilment of my design, were living; whose minute knowledge of various scenes, all of which they saw, in some of which they led, would have rendered it peculiarly interesting and valuable. After postponing, as is common to man, what for various reasons ought not to have been delayed, I have experienced in my progress abundant cause for self-reproach; since in many instances, I have been deprived of this important assistance, which no effort or application has been able fully to supply. Discouraged by this privation, I should, though reluctantly, have receded from my purpose, had not the injurious consequences of my dilatoriness been repaired in a measure by the animated and friendly exertions of the few survivors among my martial companions. To these individuals I owe a heavy debt of personal gratitude; and should the following sheets be deemed worthy of general approbation, to their ready and unwearied assistance, more than to the author's care and diligence, may be justly ascribed the pleasing result. I have, nevertheless, been compelled to abridge considerably my first design; not having been able to obtain the documents necessary to its full accomplishment.

It was my intention to present the public, not with a narrative of the southern operations only, but with the life of major general Greene, our distinguished leader. The two subjects appeared to be closely connected; and the latter is strongly claimed by my intimate knowledge of the military plans and measures of that illustrious man, by the homage due to his superior virtue, and the grateful remembrance, which I hold in common with all who served under him, of his benignity and justice.

Apprehending that longer delay might eventuate in leaving altogether unexecuted my design, I resolved for the present to confine myself to these memoirs, deferring to some future day, or to more adequate abilities, the completion of my original plan.

CHAPTER II.

1777. THE campaign projected by the British for seventy-seven, announced, in its commencement, a system portentous of much evil to the United States. It contemplated the annihilation of resistance in all the country between the lakes and Albany, undisturbed possession of the Hudson river, (thus severing the union) and the conquest of Pennsylvania, whose capital (Philadelphia) was the metropolis of the American states. This extensive plan of operations was supported by coextensive means.*

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	*British force under sir William Howe in 1776.	American force under general Washington.
August	24,000	16,000
November	26,900	4,500
December	27,700	3,300
	In 1777.	
March	27,000	4,500
June	30,000	8,000

Force under sir William Howe, when he landed at Elkton, horse, foot, and artillery, amounted, in toto, to 18,000.

Force under general Washington at the battle of Brandywine, including militia, 15,000.

At which time the British force in Rhode Island and New York, under sir Henry Clinton, was 12,000.

And the American force under general Putnam at West Point, &c., exclusive of militia, which he was authorized to call to him

Lieutenant general Burgoyne, a leader of renown, conducting the British army in the north, undertook his part with zeal and gallantry. Entering from Canada he pressed forward with impetuosity. Ticonderoga, with its various dependencies, fell without a blow; and the victorious army, pursuing its success with ardor, gained repeated advantages over our broken and dispirited troops, commanded by major general St. Clair. This promising beginning did not long continue. Major general Gates, bred to arms in the British school, and much respected by congress, was appointed to the chief command in the northern department. His reputation produced confidence; our vanquished army was reanimated; the east poured forth her hardy sons; and chosen troops were detached by the commander in chief from the main body. Gates soon found himself at the head of a sufficient force to face his enemy, whose advance had been fortunately retarded by the usual incumbrances of European armies, increased by the uncommon difficulties, which the face of the country presented, improved as they had been by the skill, diligence, and zeal of major general Schuyler,

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as he chose, from the states of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, 2,000.

Force under lieutenant general Burgoyne, excluding Canadians and Indians, 7,000.

Force under major general Gates	(continentals)	9,000
	militia	4,129
	total	13,129

See Appendix, A and B.

then commanding in that quarter. This delay reduced the provisions of the enemy; and the first attempt to replenish them terminated in the destruction of a considerable body of Germans, detached on that service, under lieutenant colonel Baum.* Brigadier Starke, at the head of a force, mostly militia, attacked this corps on the heights of Walloomsack, and destroyed it: a dreadful blow to the assailing army, and the mirror of its future fall. Burgoyne, however, persuaded that victory alone could retrieve him, sought for battle with pertinacity and keenness. The American leader was not disinclined to the appeal, apprehending a serious movement† from New York to dislodge him from his posts on the Hudson, and occupy Albany his place of deposit. Two actions were fought, in which great courage was displayed. Both armies felt the magnitude of the stake; every officer, and every soldier acted, as if on his single arm the fate of the day depended. The slaughter was great, especially of the British; the glory was equal: to the enemy, for having sustained himself through two long and sternly contested battles against superior numbers; to America, for having with raw troops, chiefly undisciplined militia, checked a veteran army, conducted by a gallant and experienced chief, seconded with skill and ardor by his officers, and heroically supported by his soldiers. The second action was speedily followed by the surrender of the British force.* Conditions more favorable than the

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* Brigadier general Starke had fortunately reached Bennington with a body of militia from New Hampshire, where was established a depot of provisions for the use of the northern army, at the time lieutenant colonel Baum made his appearance with 500 Germans. Starke, uniting his militia to the remains (200) of a continental regiment under colonel Warner, judiciously decided to strike Baum before he could complete intrenchments, begun for the purpose of strengthening his position. The assault was immediate and vigorous; and the enemy was completely routed, most of the detachment being killed, wounded and taken. Starke's conduct was not only verified by his success, but by the disclosure that a reinforcement under lieutenant colonel Brecknam was hastening to join Baum. The united force under Starke amounted to 2,000.

† This important operation was conducted by sir Henry Clinton, second in command of the British army. He left New York early in October at the head of 3,000 men; and by masterly manœuvres entirely deceived general Putnam, the American commander. On the 6th he carried the forts Clinton and Montgomery

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by storm, which produced the immediate evacuation of the forts Independence and Constitution. Thus with an inferior force did the British general in a few days dispossess us of the Hudson river, believed to have been in a condition impregnable to any force then at the enemy's disposal. The military conduct of sir Henry, during this expedition, carried with it manifestations of genius far above the common order; but he stained his laurels, so gallantly won, by the cruel conflagration of the defenceless town of Esopus, then the depot of women and children.

* The expedition of sir Henry Clinton up the North river no doubt induced general Gates to admit, in the convention, the article which stipulated that the captive army should not serve against the United States until exchanged, and should be permitted in the mean time to return to England. Nevertheless the army of Burgoyne never did return to England, congress having for the first time stifled the fair claims of its enemy, under color of pretences as frivolous as was the detention of the army unjus-

relative situation of the armies authorized were granted by the conqueror; who in this act, as in all its appurtenances, manifested an immutable attachment to the claims of humanity. Conduct so estimable gave new lustre to the splendid victory, where heroism was adorned by clemency; illustrating the edifying truth, that glory is inseparable from virtue.

General Burgoyne in his official report bestowed great praise on his troops; but especially on the able and active support derived from the generals Philips, Reidezel and Frazier, the last of whom fell in the second action, lamented and admired. Brigadier Arnold and colonel Morgan, among a host of distinguished associates, took the lead on the side of America, and were particularly regarded by congress, and the nation, in the burst of applause which resounded throughout the United States, on the happy conclusion of the northern campaign.

The reception of the rival leaders, by their respective governments, was as different as had been their fate in battle. Gates was enrolled among the most celebrated heroes of the world, by congress, country, and army; while Burgoyne was not permitted to present himself to his sovereign, but, by the injustice of

tifiable. There was a very great disproportion of force. Gates' army consisted of 9,000 continental troops, and 4,060 militia; while that under Burgoyne amounted to 5,700 by the official statement of the number surrendered, which of course includes persons of every description. The British general rated his fighting force at 3,500, and that of Gates may be fairly estimated, including militia, at 8,500.

the very cabinet to whose former preference he owed his elevation, was deprived of all the rewards of his long service, and died in disgrace *at court*, adored by his gallant troops, the companions, the witnesses of his toil and peril; and esteemed by those of his countrymen, who would sensibly discriminate between incidental misfortune and deserved infamy.

Where is the general who ever more prodigally risked his life in his country's cause, than did the unfortunate Burgoyne? where the army which more bravely executed its leader's will, than did that which he conducted? what danger was avoided? what effort unessayed? what privation not submitted to? what difficulties not encountered? But all terminated in disaster; and the army, from whose prowess so much was expected, yielded to its equal in courage, to its superior in number.

To be unfortunate is to be disgraced: imperfect man! infatuated government! The Roman senate did not thus think: that illustrious body of sages examined the intention; the exertion, in conjunction with the issue, and made up their decision accordingly. Vanquished generals have been reanimated by their unvanquished senate, who, ever true to itself, was just to others. See Varro thanked after the loss of the battle of Cannæ, for not having despaired of the commonwealth. See the great Fabius, although for a time obscured by the machinations of detractors, hailed, in a long succession of the highest confidence, " the shield of his country." But a Roman senate is too rarely to be found in the annals of power.

CHAPTER III.

WHILE this severe and eventful contest occupied the armies of the north, Washington patiently waited the development of sir William Howe's intention. This officer, commanding in chief the British forces, had left New York with 18,000 men completely appointed and equipped, under convoy of a powerful fleet, directed by his brother lord Howe.

Weighing from Sandy-Hook, in July, the fleet steered for the south, which general Washington supposed to be the intended course: but lest it might have been a feint to draw the American army far from the Hudson, with a view of returning with the first fair wind and seizing West Point, the American Thermopylæ,* washed by that river; Washington proceeded no farther south than to Bucks county, in Pennsylvania, sufficiently near, for his timely interposition, should sir William Howe suddenly change his direction. There, after a lapse of five weeks, he received information, that the fleet had entered into the Chesapeak, and was standing up that bay. He instantly decamped, and took a position on White-Clay creek, in the county of Chester, while his light troops extended to the vicinity of Elkton, in the state of Maryland; below which, at Cecil old court-house, the enemy disembarked on the 28th of August. With very

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* Properly so termed, whether we regard its natural difficulties, or its military importance. The high lands begin their ascent a little above King's Ferry on the Hudson, forty miles up the river from New York, communicating between Stony and Verplank's Point. In Pennsylvania and Maryland the same ridge of mountains is known by the name of the North Mountain, being the only one which passes through all the northern states. Continuing south, the Allegany, misnamed the back-bone of Anglican America, absolutely sinks, before it reaches the southern limit of Virginia, into the North mountain, or *Blue Ridge*. This spot, of precipice linked to precipice, now and then separated by a fissure

admitting the pass of men in single file, rugged, sharp and steep, was selected by Washington to hold safe the possession of the upper Hudson, indispensable to the free egress and regress between the north and the south; without which, military resistance could not be upheld. This mountainous region is computed to be twenty miles in breadth, alike rugged and impenetrable on both sides of the river near its margin. About midway, on its eastern bank, is Antony's Nose, 363 yards perpendicularly high; and opposite to it, 123 feet above the level of the river, is a spur of the mountain, with table land on its summit sufficient for the erection of works, separated from another spur by Preploap's kill or creek, (kill is the Dutch word for creek) presenting the same facility. Both these tops were fortified: the first called Fort Clinton, after the respectable and zealous governor of the state of New York; and the last named Montgomery, after the hero of Quebec.

Antony's Nose, in its first step of ascent, is washed by Peekskill, which falls into the Hudson, on the northern banks of which was erected Fort Independence; and six or seven miles above the Nose, towards the declivity of the high lands, is Fort Constitution. These were our land defences.

little delay, sir William advanced to Elkton, whence he moved to his left, preferring the upper route, where the water-courses were fordable; where, from the presumed security of the farmers, provisions were more readily procurable; and where he avoided those artificial impediments known to be prepared for him on the lower route. As soon as this movement was ascertained by Washington, he broke up from White-Clay creek, and, turning to his right, took post on the eastern side of the Brandywine, fronting Chadsford, where he waited the approach of his foe. Sir William continued to advance by steady marches, holding up the strength

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In the river, between the water projection of the spur on whose summit stood fort Clinton, and the base of Antony's Nose, here perpendicular, was sunk a boom of mountain timber fastened together by all the ligaments of art, ponderous and durable. In front of which was affixed to the rocky base of the mountain, on each side of the river, an iron chain nearly sixty tons in weight, whose every link was two inches and a half square, and which in its sweep across the river presented its point to the enemy in the channel. Behind the boom rode two frigates, two galleys, and a sloop of war, commensurate with the theatre of action. Thus were we prepared by water.

All the defiles, narrow and difficult as they were by nature, were made more difficult by the rolling of rocks into them, and by felling trees across them, over and through which the assailant must clamber and creep for many miles before he could present himself to our works.

This assemblage of defences is known among us by the designation of West Point, and constituted the primary object of Washington's care during the war.

of his troops, whose valor he foresaw, with pleasure, would be tested in a few days.

Having reached Kennet's Square on the 11th of September, not more than six or seven miles from Chadsford, Howe advanced in two columns:* the right, inferior in force, and charged with the care of the baggage, provisions, &c., under the direction of lieutenant general Knyphausen, took the road to Chadsford, with orders to delay passing the Brandywine, until the commencement of the battle, by the left, should announce itself. The other column, made up of the best corps, and consisting of nearly two thirds of the whole force, commanded by sir William Howe in person, having under him lord Cornwallis, diverged to the left; and making an extensive circuit, crossed the two branches of the Brandywine; when turning down the river it approached the American right. The battle soon began in this quarter; and quickly afterwards Knyphausen forcing brigadier Maxwell, who commanded the light infantry stationed on the western side of the Brandywine, advanced upon our left. Three small detachments, commanded by the lieutenant colonels Parker, Heth, and Simms, of the Virginia line, were, early in the morning, separately and advantageously posted by the brigadier, contiguous to the road, some distance in his front; and captain Porterfield, with a company of infantry, preceded these parties, with orders to deliver his fire as soon as he should meet the van of the enemy, and then to fall back. This service was handsomely performed by Porterfield, and produced the desired effect. The British van pressed forward rapidly and incautiously, until it lined the front of the detachment commanded by lieutenant colonel Simms, who poured in a close and destructive fire, and then retreated to the light corps. The leading officer of the enemy was killed; and the detachment suffered severely. The contest which began on our right spread to our left, and was warm in some parts of the American line; and many of the corps distinguished themselves. The most conspicuous were the brigades of Wayne and Weedon, and the third regiment of Virginia, commanded by colonel Marshall;* to which, with the artillery directed by colonel Proctor of Pennsylvania, much praise was given. Of these the third regiment stood preeminent, part of Woodford's brigade: it occupied the right of the American line; and being advanced to a small eminence, some little distance in front, for the purpose of holding safe that flank, it received the first shock of the foe. One column moved upon it in front, while a second struck at its left. Cut off from cooperation by the latter movement, it bravely sustained itself against superior numbers, never yielding one inch of ground, and expending thirty rounds a man, in forty-five minutes. It was now ordered to fall back upon Woodford's right, which was handsomely accomplished by colonel Marshall, although deprived of half his officers, where he renewed the sanguinary contest. The regiment, having been much reduced by previous service, did not amount to more than a battalion; but one field officer, the colonel, and four captains, were with it. Marshall escaped unhurt, although his horse received two balls. Of the captains, two only, Blackwell and Peyton, remained fit for duty. Chilton was killed, and Lee mortally wounded. The subalterns suffered in proportion. Lieutenants White, Cooper, and ensign Peyton, were killed; lieutenants Mercer, Blackwell, and Peyton wounded. Thirteen non-commissioned officers, and sixty privates fell.

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* Washington was quickly informed of the separation of the enemy's columns, as he was subsequently informed not only of its continuance, but that the left column was making a very circuitous sweep. Persuaded of the fact, he wisely determined to pass the Brandywine with his whole force and strike at Knyphausen. In the very act of giving his orders to this effect, colonel Bland, of the Virginia horse, brought him intelligence which very much obscured, if it did not contradict, the previous information; and the original judicious decision was abandoned. Colonel Bland was noble, sensible, honorable, and amiable; but never intended for the department of military intelligence. The third regiment of Virginia, first Mercer's, who fell covered with glory at Princeton; next Weedon's, now Marshall's, exhibited an example worthy of itself, its country, and its leader. Already high in reputation from the gallant stand made by one battalion under major Leitch on York Island, when supporting the brave colonel Knowlton in the first check given to the enemy, flushed with his victory of Long Island, in which check Knowlton was killed and Leitch mortally wounded, having received three balls successively through his body, at the head of his victorious battalion; from its firmness on our retreat through New Jersey, from its intrepidity at Trenton, and its valor at Princeton, now surpassed its pristine fame. Our loss amounted to 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 prisoners, chiefly wounded. Major general marquis de la Fayette and brigadier Woodward were wounded. Sir William Howe stated in his official report the British loss to be only 100 killed, and 400 wounded. The vanquished army will always suffer most.

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* Father of chief justice Marshall.

The opposing enemy was as severely handled; and the leading officer of one of the columns, with several others, was killed. The action closed with the day, in our defeat.

CHAPTER IV.

WASHINGTON retired during the night to Chester;* whence he decamped the next morning. Taking the route to Philadelphia, and crossing the Schuylkill, he moved up that river, until he reached Swedesford, where he recrossed it, and gained the Lancaster road. On the 15th he advanced to meet the enemy, who, after three days' repose on the field of battle, quitted the Brandywine, pointing his march to the upper fords of the Schuylkill. A violent storm, accompanied by a deluge of rain, stopped the renewal of battle on the following day, near the Warren tavern on the road from Philadelphia to Lancaster; for which the two armies were arrayed, and in which the van troops were engaged. Separated by the tempest, the American general exerted himself to replenish his ammunition, destroyed by the fall of water, from the insecurity of our† cartouch boxes and artillery tumbrels; while the British general pursued his route across the Schuylkill, directing his course to the American metropolis. Contiguous to the enemy's route, lay some mills stored with flour, for the use of the American army. Their destruction was deemed necessary by the commander in chief; and his aid-de-camp, lieutenant colonel Hamilton,* attended by captain Lee,† with a small party of his troop of horse, were despatched in front of the enemy, with the order of execution. The mill, or mills, stood on the bank of the Schuylkill. Approaching, you descend a long hill leading to a bridge over the mill-race. On the summit of this hill two videts were posted; and soon after the party reached the mills, lieutenant colonel Hamilton took possession of a flat-bottomed boat for the purpose of transporting himself and his comrades across the river, should the sudden approach

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* It is worthy of remark that Howe was but eighteen miles from Philadelphia; and Washington, who reached Chester on the night of the battle, was sixteen miles distant, the Delaware on his right, the Schuylkill in his front, and his enemy on his left. Was it not surprising that the British general did not perceive and seize the advantage, so plainly before him, by a forced march as soon as his troops had snatched food and rest?

† Among the many and afflicting disadvantages imposed on the American general, the insufficiency of the implements

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covering our powder, was not the least. There existed another ground of disparity, which continued nearly to the end of the war—inferiority of arms. Some of our musketry were without bayonets; and not a single brigade had muskets of the same caliber; by which means, a corps expending its ammunition, could not use that of an adjoining corps. The latter deficiency is imputable to our poverty, as arms in that stage of the war could only be procured by purchase from abroad; but the former is justly to be ascribed to the criminal supineness of our contractors, as we abounded in good leather and good workmen.

* The celebrated Alexander Hamilton.

† Henry Lee, afterwards lieutenant colonel Lee of the legion cavalry.

of the enemy render such retreat necessary. In a little time this precaution manifested his sagacity: the fire of the videts announced the enemy's appearance. The dragoons were ordered instantly to embark. Of the small party, four with the lieutenant colonel jumped into the boat, the van of the enemy's horse in full view, pressing down the hill in pursuit of the two videts. Captain Lee, with the remaining two, took the decision to regain the bridge, rather than detain the boat.

Hamilton was committed to the flood, struggling against a violent current, increased by the recent rains; while Lee put his safety on the speed and soundness of his horse.

The attention of the enemy being engaged by Lee's push for the bridge, delayed the attack upon the boat for a few minutes, and thus afforded to Hamilton a better chance of escape. The two videts preceded Lee as he reached the bridge; and himself with the four dragoons safely passed it, although the enemy's front section emptied their carbines and pistols* at the distance of ten or twelve paces. Lee's apprehension for the safety of Hamilton continued to increase, as he heard volleys of carbines discharged upon the boat, which were returned by guns singly and occasionally. He trembled for the probable issue; and as soon as the pursuit ended, which did not long continue, he despatched a dragoon to the commander in chief, describing with feelings of anxiety what had passed, and his sad presage. His letter was scarcely perused by Washington, before Hamilton himself appeared; and, ignorant of the contents of the paper in the general's hand, renewed his attention to the ill-boding separation, with the probability that his friend Lee had been cut off; inasmuch as instantly after he turned for the bridge, the British horse reached the mill, and commenced their operations upon the boat.

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* The fire of cavalry is at best innocent, especially in quick motion, as was then the case. The strength and activity of the horse, the precision and celerity of evolution, the adroitness of the rider, boot-top to boot-top, and the keen edge of the sabre, with fitness of ground, and skill in the leader, constitute their vast power, so often decisive in the day of battle.

Washington with joy relieved his fears, by giving to his aid-de-camp the captain's letter.

Thus did fortune smile upon these two young soldiers, already united in friendship, which ceased only with life. Lieutenant colonel Hamilton escaped unhurt; but two of his four dragoons, with one of the boatmen, were wounded.

CHAPTER V.

SIR William Howe, having passed the Schuylkill on the 23d, continued by easy marches on his route to Philadelphia.

On the 26th he took a position in the village of Germantown, seven or eight miles distant from the city, which was on the following day possessed by lord Cornwallis with one division of the army. The position of Germantown has some advantages, mingled with many disadvantages. Its right is accessible with ease; and its centre presents no obstruction from superiority of ground, to the assailant. Its chief, if not sole advantage, consisted in the safety of the left, and its proximity to Philadelphia, which city it was necessary to secure. A few miles more remote is Chesnut hill, which sir William might have occupied, and have defied annoyance. This ground probably did not escape his observation; but it was not so near to Philadelphia, and, what was more to be regarded, too remote to permit him to give his undivided exertions towards the opening of the Delaware to his fleet, on whose propinquity depended the safety of his army.

The possession of Philadelphia, however anxiously desired, and highly rated by the British ministry, did not produce any of those advantageous results, so confidently expected: nor indeed could the discriminating statesman have justly calculated upon extensive benefit from the achievement. The American nation is spread over a vast region; the great body of whose population live upon their farms, pursuing exclusively the occupations of agriculture. The loss of a town, though the first, is not felt by a people thus situated, as it is in Europe, where whole countries resemble a continued village; and where the commercial and manufacturing interests have spread and ramified themselves to a considerable extent. However the loss of Philadelphia may have advanced the hopes of the British nation and government, it was slightly regarded by the states and congress. This body of virtuous sages had discerned, by deep examination of the resources of the United States, that the nation's safety was not endangered by such fleeting occurrences: they placed, under God, their confidence in the fidelity of their fellow citizens, in the courage of their armies, in the purity and wisdom of their general in chief, and in the fiscal ability of the nation;* on all of which they had a right to count with certainty, dreadfully as the latter failed from the imbecility of the government.

Experience too had not withheld its chastening admonition.* New York had before fallen, after having been held too long, from the influence which, in a free country, the public wish will ever possess, even over the stern soldier. By obedience to the impulse flowing from this cause, the main body of the American army had been risked improvidently in the bold attempt to hold that city; and with much difficulty and much loss, did the commander in chief extricate his army from the perils in which it had been consequently involved.

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* The congress was composed of deputies from the several states, and resembled more a diplomatic corps executing the will of the sovereign, than the sovereign commanding the execution of its will. It cannot excite surprise to the reflecting reader, that our finances, under such auspices, soon sunk.

Washington, following sir William Howe with a view to place himself in a strong position at a convenient distance, ready to seize the first fit opportunity to measure swords with his antagonist, encamped on the western side of Skippack creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown.

Both generals now turned their attention to the river impediments: the one, to open a passage for his fleet, which, after disembarking the army, returned to sea, destined for the Delaware; the other, to impede, as long as was practicable, this much desired junction. The American general had neglected no means within his power to stop the advance of the fleet, by preparing to maintain the defence of the various obstructions fixed in the channel of the river. With this view, two fortresses had been erected: one on Mud Island, denominated Fort Mifflin, after general Mifflin, since governor of Pennsylvania; and the other at Billingsport, on a point of land, opposite to the lower line of chevaux-de-frise, of which three rows, formed of the heaviest timber, strengthened and pointed with iron, had been sunk across the channel. Billingsport was abandoned on the approach of a detachment, under colonel Stirling, sent to dislodge the American garrison; and a high bluff on the same side of the river, opposite to Mud Island, called Red Bank, was fortified, which with Fort Mifflin protected the two upper lines of chevaux-de-frise. Above, and near to these, was stationed our maritime force, consisting of row-galleys, floating batteries, fire-ships, and rafts. The fortification of Red Bank consisted of an intrenchment and redoubt, called Fort Mercer, in commemoration of brigadier general Mercer of Virginia, who died of his wounds received at the battle of Princeton, nobly sustaining his beloved commander, in consummating the masterly movement made by him from his position in front of lord Cornwallis at Trenton; by which single stroke was liberated nearly the whole state of New Jersey.

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* It is natural for the inhabitants of the same country to feel for the losses and injuries of any portion of their countrymen from the operations of a common enemy. This influence is accompanied by a disposition to criminate him who may be intrusted with the direction of the means of protection, sharpened by an indisposition to retribute those who lose by not receiving that protection however strongly called for by equity. To save New York, our second, if not first town, was the wish of all; and Washington, sharing in this feeling with his fellow citizens, seems to have indulged his inclination too far upon this occasion. After various marches and manœuvres, and some loss, the erroneous plan was concluded by the fall of Fort Washington, with a numerous garrison, whose aid in the field could ill be spared.

Officers were selected to command at these particular posts, high in the confidence of the commander in chief; and the naval force was committed to commodore Hazelwood.

Great were the exertions of sir William Howe to restore the navigation; and equally great were the efforts of Washington to hold it occluded. Aware that the necessary operations to reduce the forts, Mercer and Mifflin, would call for considerable detachments from the British army, the American general continued in his position at Skippack Creek, within reach of his enemy, still encamped in the village of Germantown, patiently watching for the opportune moment, to strike the meditated blow.

Cautious as Washington undoubtedly was, his caution was exceeded by his spirit of enterprise. He resembled Marcellus rather than Fabius, notwithstanding his rigid adherence to the Fabian policy during our war. Ardent, and impetuous by nature, he had, nevertheless, subjected his passions to his reason; and could with facility, by his habitual self-control, repress his inclinations whenever his judgment forbade their indulgence: the whole tenor of his military life evinces uniform and complete self-command.

Province Island, close to the Pennsylvania shore, and contiguous to Mud Island, had been possessed by general Howe, with a view to hasten the fall of Fort Mifflin. This service, with other accompanying claims on his force, compelled him to draw rather improvidently from his main body, already weakened by his occupation of Philadelphia, with a considerable detachment under lord Cornwallis.

Understanding the condition of his foe, Washington decamped on the evening of the third of October, and, moving with secrecy and circumspection, attacked the enemy in his camp at Germantown, early in the morning of the fourth. The commencement was favourable;* but, by the failure of punctual correspondent co-operation, and the brave stand of colonel Musgrave with the fortieth regiment at Chew's house on the discomfiture of the British van, the flattering dawn was soon and sadly changed.

Washington was compelled to retire; which he effected with ease, the enemy showing no disposition to risk serious pursuit. Our loss was considerable, and unhappily augmented by the captivity of the ninth Virginia regiment and its brave colonel, Matthews, who had, with a part of the sixth, led by colonel Towles, victoriously pierced into the midst of the British army, where, gallantly contending unsupported, he was compelled to surrender.

Here, as at Brandywine, some of our corps greatly distinguished themselves. Major general Sullivan's division, made up chiefly of the Maryland line, did honour to its general, and its state; especially the brigade commanded by Conway, who led unto battle on the right. Such partial efforts, however honourable to the particular troops, never can terminate in victory: this precious fruit is only to be plucked by the cooperating skill and courage of the whole body. The loss of the British in killed and wounded was nearly equal to that sustained by us, which did not exceed six hundred.*

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* The left column was under the order of major general Greene. Some attempts at that time were made to censure that officer; but they were too feeble to attract notice, when levelled at a general whose uniform conduct had already placed him high in the confidence of his chief and of the army.

The sudden change which we experienced was attributed to the delay of the left column's entrance into action, to the fog of the morning which was uncommonly dense, and to the halt at Chew's house. These certainly were the ostensible causes of the defeat; and some of them lightly contributed to our disaster. A critical examination of the operations of that day, however, will lead all impartial inquirers to one conclusion: namely, that although the fog withheld from us the important advantage, resulting to assailing troops, from a clear view of the enemy's incipient measures to repel the assault; and although the halt at Chew's house had cooled the ardour, which, at the beginning, success had infused into our soldiers; yet these incidents could not have produced the disastrous change in the fortune of the day.

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* Besides the ninth regiment, but few prisoners were taken. The whole amounted to 400, which, added to our killed and wounded, gave a total of 1000.

But this turn must be ascribed to deeper causes: to the yet imperfect discipline of the American army; to the broken spirit of the troops, who, from day to day, and from month to month, had been subjected to the most trying and strength-wasting privations, through the improvidence, or inability of government; to the inexperience of the tribe of generals; and to the complication of the plan of assault: a complication said to have been unavoidable.

The halt at* Chew's house was taken after some deliberation, (as the writer well recollects; being for that day in the suite of the commander in chief, with a troop of dragoons charged with duty near his person.)

Many junior officers, at the head of whom were colonel Pickering and lieutenant colonel Hamilton, urged with zeal the propriety of passing the house. Brigadier Knox opposed the measure with earnestness, denouncing the idea of leaving an armed force in the rear; and, being always high in the general's confidence, his opinion prevailed. A flag of truce was instantly despatched to summon the British colonel, while appropriate bodies of troops were prepared to compel his submission. As had been suggested, the summons was disregarded by Musgrave, who persevered in his judicious defence; and captain Smith, of the first Virginia regiment, deputy adjutant general, bearing the flag, fell with it waving in his hands. Thirsting after military fame, and devoted to his country, he obeyed with joy the perilous order; advanced through the deadly fire pouring from the house, presuming that the sanctity of his flag would at length be respected: vain expectation! he fell before his admiring comrades, a victim to this generous presumption.

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*Colonel Musgrave and the fortieth regiment received the cordial thanks of sir William Howe, and were held up to the army as an example for imitation. Nor was the applause, which was lavishly bestowed upon Musgrave, restricted to America. It resounded in Great Britain; and the successful colonel received a letter from the British monarch, expressing his sense of his meritorious conduct.

Unfortunate* as was the issue of the battle at Germantown, it manifested the unsubdued, though broken spirit, of the American army; and taught the enemy to expect renewal of combat, whenever adequacy of force or fitness of opportunity should authorize repetition of battle: it gave, too, animation to the country at large, exciting in congress, and in the people, invigorated zeal in the great cause in which they were engaged.

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* Congress voted their thanks to the general and army, expressing without reserve their approbation of the plan of battle, and of the courage exhibited on the occasion.

CHAPTER VI.

BOTH armies having resumed their former positions, the respective leaders, with renovated vigour, directed their views to the cardinal point, of all their movements, and all their conflicts.

Howe felt and understood the late bold attempt of his adversary; and, withdrawing from his position in Germantown, concentrated his force in the vicinity of Philadelphia, strengthening his camp by field works, which in effect increased his disposable force.

He soon became convinced that the dislodgment of the American garrisons from the forts, Mifflin and Mercer, was an indispensable prerequisite to the opening of the passage of the river, where the admiral and fleet had arrived from the Chesapeak, prepared to co-operate in removing those obstructions; and immediate measures were taken towards the accomplishment of this object.

A detachment of Hessians, led by colonel count Donop, crossed the Delaware from Philadelphia, and took the route for Fort Mercer. A few miles only in its van, was a reinforcement for the post of Mud Island, sent by Washington, under lieutenant colonel Simms, of the sixth Virginia regiment.*

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* Lieutenant colonel Simms, after passing the Delaware below Bristol, arrived, with the detachment under his command, at

Simms continued to precede Donop, and reached the fort at Red Bank, the evening before the enemy appeared. No doubt existed but that Donop would make his assault the next day. Simms intreated colonel Greene, of the Rhode Island line, commandant in Fort Mercer, to avail himself of the accidental aid under his command. To this proposal Greene readily assented; and a disposition was accordingly made of the united force, to receive the assailant. Matured reflection, in the course of the night, induced colonel Greene to renounce the welcome and seasonable aid before accepted. He considered that the detachment under lieutenant colonel Simms was destined for Mud Island, a place of the highest importance; and which, for ought he knew, might be attacked by the fleet and army at the moment of the intended assault upon himself. He revolved in his mind the weighty responsibility he should assume, by changing the disposition of the

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Moore's Town, eight miles from Cooper's ferry, opposite Philadelphia, about ten o'clock at night. He was informed that a detachment of the enemy were crossing at that ferry; the safety of his detachment required that he should acertain whether the enemy were actually crossing the Delaware or not; and he immediately, with a small escort of dragoons, proceeded with great circumspection to the ferry, and found that the information he had received was not true; nor could he discover any movement of troops in the city. A party of militia were posted at the ferry, whom lieutenant colonel Simms found asleep; being roused and informed of their danger from such negligence, they providentially escaped certain destruction; for before the dawn of day, the van of Donop's corps had landed with hope of striking them.

commander in chief, increased tenfold should an attack be made upon Fort Mifflin, destitute of the aid sent to contribute to its defence.

These soldier-like reflections determined this gallant officer to rely solely upon his inferior force, which he directed to resume its original disposition, assigning his entire corps to that part of the works heretofore contracted to fit his strength; nor could the persevering solicitations of lieutenant colonel Simms, seconded by the anxious wishes of his troops, shake the fixed resolve of Greene.

Disappointed in his sought participation of the terrible conflict impending, this zealous officer hastened to his destined post, to share with the commandant of Mud Island the dangers of his arduous and momentous struggle.

Filing off through the postern gate of the fort, he embarked in boats prepared to transport his detachment to the island. This movement was quickly discerned by count Donop, who, having some hours before arrived, was engaged in the necessary preparations for attack.

Not doubting, from what he saw, that the garrison was attempting to escape, Donop relinquished his preparations, though absolutely requisite, and arrayed his troops for assault. Rushing on to our works, he entered that part of them designedly abandoned, in consequence of the contraction made by Greene; and, finding these evacuated, his temerity increased; of which the American commandant took full advantage. Having approached, tumultuously, close to the muzzles of our guns, a severe fire from the garrison ensued, which was so fatal in its effect as to destroy instantly every hope of success. The gallant Donop fell, mortally wounded; and the carnage was so dreadful as to render immediate flight on the part of the survivors indispensable. Nor was the naval diversion, in favour of the assault by land, free from disaster.* The Augusta, a

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*In congress, November 4, 1777.

Resolved, that congress have a high sense of the merit of colonel Greene, and the officers and men under his command, in their late gallant defence of the fort at Red Bank on Delaware river, and that an elegant sword be provided by the board of war, and presented to colonel Greene.

Extract from the minutes.

Charles Thomson, sec'ry,
War office of the United States.

New York, June 7, 1786.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you, the son and legal representative of the late memorable and gallant colonel Greene, the sword directed to be presented to him by the resolve of congress of the 4th November 1777.

The repulse and defeat of the Germans, at the fort of Red Bank on the Delaware, is justly considered as one of the most brilliant actions of the late war. The glory of that event is inseparably attached to the memory of your late father and his brave garrison. The manner in which the supreme authority of the United States are pleased to express their high sense of his military merit, and the honourable instrument which they annex in testimony thereof, must be peculiarly precious to a son emulative of his father's virtues. The ship of the line, and Merlin sloop of war, part of the squadron employed on this occasion, were both lost: the first, by fire accidentally communicated; the last, having grounded, was purposely destroyed.

Thus was requited scrupulous adherence to military obedience. The hero of Fort Mercer received with universal acclamation the honour conferred on him by congress, so nobly earned; which, through the eventful vicissitudes of after service, he sustained with unfading lustre.

This successful resistance, on the part of the Americans, was soon followed by the exhilarating intelligence from the north, placing out of doubt the surrender of Burgoyne and his army.

To protract as long as possible the defence of the obstructions to the river navigation, became more and more dear to Washington: for, with the reinforcements to be derived from the Northern army, he flattered himself to be at length able to act with that vigour, his

The circumstances of the war prevented the obtaining and delivery of the sword previous to your father's being killed at Croton river in the year 1780. On that catastrophe his country mourned the sacrifice of a patriot and soldier, and mingled its tears with those of his family.

That the patriotic and military virtues of your honourable father may influence your conduct in every case in which your country may require your services is the sincere wish of

Your most obedient
and very humble servant,
H. Knox.

Job Greene, Esq.

own temper had invariably courted; but which his impotent condition had prevented. Could he have left a sufficient force in his camp at White Marsh, to which position he had advanced on the enemy's retreat to Philadelphia, to protect his hospitals and stores in Bethlehem, Reading, and their vicinity, he would have placed himself on the western heights of the Schuylkill, whence he could with facility have driven the enemy from Province Island,* by which establishment Fort Mifflin was essentially endangered. This movement, on the part of Washington, must have compelled sir William Howe to have ventured the perilous operation of fighting his enemy on his own ground, passing a river into battle, or passing it above or below him. The latter was the most ready approach: but very disadvantageous was the access, through the intermediate marshes of the Delaware and the Schuylkill; nor was it easy to convey artillery, baggage, and the ammunitions of war, through those humid grounds; and delay in the operation would endanger the health of his troops.

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* A small detachment was landed on Province Island with a view to expel the enemy engaged in erecting this battery. Major Vatap, who commanded the British covering party, abandoned most shamefully the artillery, which was however retaken by a subaltern officer. The above is stated by Mr. Stedman, whose history of the American war is marked by an invariable disposition to record the truth. I believe it is the single instance of dastardly conduct among the British officers during the war. Vatap belonged to the tenth regiment, and was obliged to quit the service and sell out below the regulated price.

To pass above Washington comported better with a due regard to the health, the comfort, and the labour of his army; but to this course were annexed weighty objections. The route would be extensive; it would place Howe, when he reached the western banks of the Schuylkill, too remote from Philadelphia: a weak garrison, if left there, must fall if struck at; an adequate garrison he could not spare, in his then effective strength.

Whatever choice he might adopt in the difficult condition, to which the transfer of the American head quarters to the western heights of the Schuylkill, opposite to the city, must have reduced him; it is very certain, his decision, when taken, would be replete with hazard. Our army being reinforced from the north, with the faithful battalions of New England, flushed with victory, and surpassing, if possible, their comrades in devotion to the American chief; even upon equal ground, the battle would have been keenly contested, and must have been profusely bloody.

Victory, on the side of America, presented the richest rewards, peace and independence. Exhortations, drawn from such sources, could not have been applied without effect. But suppose sir William Howe to have readily surmounted the presumed obstacles to his advance, and to have approached the American army: he would have found Washington in a position selected by himself, ready for battle. Bloody must have been the conflict, and uncertain the event. Yet it may be fairly suggested, had fortune continued to cling to sir William Howe, such would have been the obstinacy of the contest, that, situated as he was, it was highly probable all the advantages resulting from the battle would have been gathered by his adversary. Nothing short of a complete victory, followed by the destruction of his enemy, could have relieved the British general; which, in existing circumstances, was scarcely possible; whereas a well fought day, crippling both armies, would in its consequences have produced decisive benefit to his antagonist. Fort Mifflin, still sustaining itself against the persevering exertions of the enemy, could never have been reduced by the debilitated foe; and the junction of the fleet, on which depended the safety of the army, never could have been effected.

Delighted as was Washington with a prospect so magnificent, he had, on the first intimation of the probable issue to the northern campaign, given orders to general Gates, to hasten to his succour a portion of that army, as soon as the state of things would warrant a separation of his force. Meanwhile, restricted as he was to inferior numbers, he continued to exert every mean in his power to support Mud Island; whose commandant, count d'Arenat, having been disabled by indisposition to execute the duties of his station, lieutenant colonel Smith,* of the Maryland line, second in command, supplied his place. On this active and determined officer and his brave garrison, the attention of both armies was turned; each being justly impressed with the momentous result of successful resistance.

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* Now general Samuel Smith of Maryland, and senator of the United States.

Smith felt the high responsibility devolved upon him, and was well apprised of the vast odds against which he had to contend. Unhappily the commodore and himself soon disagreed; an event, no doubt, productive of injurious effects to the service. Nevertheless, lieutenant colonel Smith, and his gallant garrison, preserved the most imposing countenance, submitting to every privation, surmounting every difficulty, and braving every danger.

CHAPTER VII.

THE enemy increased his works on Province Island, mounting them with thirty-two pounders; which being completed on the 9th of November, a demolishing cannonade took place without delay, and continued without intermission; being erected within four or five hundred yards of the nearest defences on Mud Island, the block-houses were soon battered down; and the breach, in that quarter, encouraged immediate resort to the ultimate operations, which would most likely have been attempted, had not the heroic stand made by colonel Greene at Fort Mercer presented an admonition too impressive to be disregarded by an officer of sir William Howe's prudence. This attempt was considered by lieutenant colonel Smith, not only practicable but probable; and he advised the withdrawal of the troops. Nor was his counsel unsupported by the actual condition of the fort and garrison: the first dismantled in various points; and the second always greatly inadequate in strength, and now extremely incapacitated, by fighting, watching, and working, for close and stubborn action. Indeed so desperate was the prospect, and so probable the last appeal, that colonel Smith assembled his officers, for the purpose of deciding on the course to be pursued; when, with one voice it was determined that should the expected event take place, and the enemy succeed in forcing the outer works, the garrison should retreat to an inclosed intrenchment in the centre of the fort, and there demand quarters; which, if refused, a match should be instantly applied to the magazine, and themselves, with their enemy, buried in one common ruin.

Washington, still sanguine in his expectation of being soon formidably reinforced from the army under Gates, frowned upon every suggestion of evacuation. He established a small camp in New Jersey under brigadier Varnum, contiguous to Fort Mercer, for the purpose of affording daily relief to the garrison of Mud Island, whose commandant received orders to defend it to the last extremity.

The enemy, from his ships below, and from Novem. 10th.
his batteries on Province Island, and the
heights above Schuylkill, continued to press his attack
with renewed vigor and increased effect. In the course
of the fierce contest, lieutenant colonel Smith Novem. 11th.
received a contusion from the shattered walls
of the fort, which, obliging him to retire, the command
devolved on his second lieutenant colonel Novem. 12th.
Simms, who continued to sustain the defence
with unyielding firmness, until he was relieved Novem. 13th.
by colonel Russell of Massachusetts, who preserved the undaunted resistance uniformly exhibited.
Russell and his officers, being unacquainted with the condition of the works, and some movement indicating a determination to storm the fort being discovered,

lieutenant colonel Simms proposed to the retiring garrison to remain until the next day. This proposition was generously assented to; and the united force repaired to their post, determined to defend, at every hazard, our dilapidated works. In the course of the night, a floating battery was descried, falling down the river, the precursor, as was supposed, of the long expected assault. But whatever may have been the enemy's design, it proved abortive; as only that single battery reached us, which was soon silenced by our guns, and abandoned by its crew.

Novem. 14th. Russell was succeeded by major Thayer of the Rhode Island line, an officer singularly qualified for the arduous condition in which he was placed. Resistance could not slacken, under such a leader. Entering with ardor into the wishes of his general, he labored with diligence, during the night, to repair the destruction of the day; he revived the hopes of his brave soldiers, by encouraging them to count on ultimate success; and retrieved their impaired strength, by presenting to their view the rich harvest of reward and glory, sure to follow in the train of victory. The terrible conflict became more and more desperate. Not the tremendous fire from Province Island and the heights of Schuylkill, not the thunder from the hostile fleet, nor the probable sudden cooperation of the army down the river, could damp the keen and soaring courage of Thayer. Cool and discriminating amidst surrounding dangers, he held safe the great stake committed to his skill and valor.

A new assailant now presented itself. Between Province and Mud Islands, water and time had worked a ship channel, on high tide, through a mere gut, which had never been observed by those, on whose examination and information, the defences in the river and on the island had been planned and executed. A succession of high tides for several preceding days, it is supposed, had at this period added considerably to the width and depth of this channel. However this may be, it is certain that this pass was first shown by the enemy, prepared to apply the advantage it bestowed.

An East Indiaman, cut down to its depth of water, was, by the skill and perseverance common to British seamen, readily brought to the desired station, close to the fort. Thayer saw himself gone, unless the commodore could crush this unexpected and decisive operation. He lost not a moment in reporting his changed condition, and claiming immediate relief. Hazelwood felt with the same heart the altered and menaced state to which Fort Mifflin was reduced; but all his efforts to repel this new enemy were ineffectual. Nothing now remained for the valiant Thayer, but to abandon the high-prized station. He retired in the second night of his command, admired by the brave garrison who had experienced the value of his able predecessors, and honored by the commander in chief, though compelled to a measure fatal to his wisely projected and well supported system. Novem. 15th.

Notwithstanding the loss of Fort Mifflin, Washington was very unwilling to abandon Fort Mercer, knowing that the northern reinforcement must soon arrive; to accelerate whose progress, he had some time before despatched lieutenant colonel Hamilton. He consequently determined to counteract lord Cornwallis's operations, who, after Donop's repulse, had been detached across the Delaware with a respectable force, and was now moving upon Fort Mercer. To this end, major general Greene, by his order, entered New Jersey with a considerable detachment, to be strengthened by the first division of the troops expected from the north. Disappointed in the promised aid, and very inferior to his enemy in number, who had been reinforced in his march by troops just arrived from New York, Greene could not act offensively: the Fort of Novem. 18th. Red Bank was consequently evacuated; and the two generals rejoined without delay their respective leaders.*

Washington, soon after sir William Howe retired from Germantown, had advanced, as before mentioned, to White Marsh, within reach of the enemy; a strong position, rendered stronger by the application of art and labor, wherever requisite. On the return of lord Cornwallis from New Jersey, the British general resolved to bring the American army to battle; with which view he moved from Philadelphia on the 4th of December, and took post on Chesnut Hill, distant three miles from White Marsh Here he passed two days, making many demonstrations of a general assault. On the third he changed his ground, and encamped in front of our left, the most vulnerable part of Washington's position, as it might have been turned by pursuing the old York road; which measure would infallibly have produced battle, or have forced retreat. Here the British general renewed his demonstrations of assault; and lord Cornwallis engaged the light troops on our left flank, who were driven in, after a sharp rencontre, in which major Morris of New Jersey was mortally wounded. This officer's distinguished merit had pointed him out to the commander in chief, as peculiarly calculated for the rifle regiment, made up with a view to the most perilous and severe service, and which had, under its celebrated colonel (Morgan,) eminently maintained its renown in the late trying scenes of the memorable campaign in the north; in all of which Morris bore a conspicuous part. His loss was deeply felt, and universally regretted, being admired for his exemplary courage, and beloved for his kindness and benevolence. This skirmish concluded the manifestations of battle exhibited by Howe. He returned to Philadelphia, unequivocally acknowledging by his retreat, that his adversary had at length attained a size which forbade the risk of battle on ground chosen by himself.*

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* Glover's brigade, the van of the northern reinforcement, did not, as was expected, reach major general Greene; whereas lord Cornwallis united to his corps a reinforcement lately arrived in the river from New York.

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* Washington, on receiving intelligence of Howe's retreat, said, "Better would it have been for sir William Howe to have fought without victory than thus to declare his inability."

Truth, spoken in terms so imperative, would have conveyed to the British minister salutary admonition, had his mind been open to its reception. This was the period for the restoration of the blessings of peace; and the loss of one army, with the late unequivocal declaration of the British commander in chief, ought to have led to the acknowledgment of our independence, and to the renewal of amity, with preferential commercial intercourse; thus saving the useless waste of blood and treasure which followed, stopping the increase of irritation which twenty years of peace have not eradicated, and preventing the alliance soon after effected, between their ancient enemy and these states—the prolific parent of great and growing ills to Great Britain and to America.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOWE'S abandonment of the field, and the rigor of the season, induced the American general to prepare for winter quarters. Comparing the various plans suggested by his own comprehensive mind, and by the assisting care of those around him, he adopted a novel experiment, the issue of which gave increase of fame to his already highly honored name. He determined to hold his main force in one compact body, and to place some light troops, horse and foot, with corps of militia in his front, contiguous to the enemy, for the double purpose of defending the farmer from the outrages of marauders, and of securing to himself quick information of any material movement in the enemy's camp. He selected for his winter position Valley-Forge, which lies on the western side of the Schuylkill, convenient to the rich country of Lancaster and Reading, and in the first step of the ascent of hills, which reach to the North Mountain or Blue Ridge. It possessed every advantage which strength of ground or salubrity of climate could bestow. Here, by the hands of his soldiers, he erected a town of huts, which afforded a comfortable shelter from the inclemency of the season, and strengthened his position by all the help of art and industry. This work, of his selection, soon evinced its preference to the common mode of cantonment in contiguous towns and villages.

Close under the eye of the officer, and far from the scenes of delight, the hardy character of the troops did not degenerate by effeminate indulgences, but was rather confirmed by unremitting attention to the acquirement of military knowledge, and the manly exertions proper for a camp. Intent upon bringing his army to a thorough knowledge of the most approved system of tactics, the American general adopted the means most likely to produce this essential effect, watching and encouraging with care and indulgence his beloved troops in their progress, always tenderly mindful of the preservation of their health; as on their fidelity, skill, and courage, his oppressed country rested for relief and safety. He not only enforced rigid attention to all those regulations and usages generally adopted to keep off disease, but determined to risk the critical and effectual measure of extinguishing the smallpox in his army; whose pestilential rage had already too often thinned its ranks, and defeated the most important enterprises. Preparations to accomplish this wise resolution having been made with all possible secrecy, the period of the winter, most opposed to military operations, was selected for its introduction in succession to the several divisions of the army; and, what is really surprising, nearly one half of the troops had gone through the disease, before the enemy became apprised of its commencement.

While Washington was engaged, without cessation, to perfect his army in the art of war, and to place it out of the reach of that contagious malady so fatal to man. Sir William was indulging, with his brave troops, in all the sweets of luxury and pleasure to be drawn from the wealthy and populous city of Philadelphia; nor did he once attempt to disturb that repose, now so essential to the American general. Thus passed the winter; and the approaching spring brought with it the recall of the commander of the British army; who was succeeded by sir Henry Clinton, heretofore his second.*

It is impossible to pass over this period of the American war without giving vent to some of those reflections which it necessarily excites. Sir William Howe was considered one of the best soldiers in England, when charged with the important trust of subduing the revolted colonies. Never did a British general, in any period of that nation, command an army better fitted to insure success than the one submitted to his direction, whether we regard its comparative strength with that opposed to it, the skill of the officers, the discipline and courage of the soldiers, the adequacy of all the implements and munitions of war, and the abundance of the best supplies of every sort. In addition, his brother lord Howe commanded a powerful fleet on our coast, for the purpose of subserving the views, and supporting the measures, of the commander in chief. Passing over the criminal supineness which marked his conduct after the battle of Long Island, and the fatal mistake of the plan of the campaign in 1777, (the first and leading feature of which ought to have been junction with Burgoyne and the undisturbed possession of the North river) we must be permitted to look at him with scrutinous though impartial eyes, when pursuing his own object, and directed by his own judgment, after his disembarkation at the head of the Chesapeak.

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* After sir William Howe returned home, a parliamentary inquiry was made into his conduct upon a motion of his brother, admiral lord Howe, which in a little while dropped. It plainly appears, from the documents exhibited, that sir William Howe's plans were cordially adopted by the minister, and that he was as cordially supported by government in whatever he desired.—See parliamentary debates for 1779.

We find him continuing to omit pressing the various advantages he dearly gained, from time to time. He was ever ready to appeal to the sword, and but once retired from his enemy. But he does not seem to have known, that to win a victory was but the first step in the actions of a great captain. To improve it, is as essential; and unless the first is followed by the second, the conqueror ill requites those brave companions of his toils and perils, to whose disregard of difficulties and contempt of death, he is so much indebted for the laurel which entwines his brow; and basely neglects his duty to his country, whose confidence in his zeal for her good, had induced her to commit to his keeping, her fame and interest.

After his victory at Brandywine, he was, by his own official statement, less injured than his adversary;

yet with many of his corps, entire and fresh, we find him wasting three precious days, with the sole ostensible object of sending his wounded to Wilmington. Surely the detachment, charged with this service, was as adequate to their protection on the field of battle, as afterwards on the march; and certainly it required no great exertion of mind to have made this arrangement in the course of one hour, and to have pursued his beaten foe, after the refreshments and repose enjoyed in one night. This was omitted. He adhered to the same course of conduct after the battle of Germantown, when the ill-boding tidings, from the northern warfare, emphatically called upon him to press his victory, in order to compensate for the heavy loss likely to be sustained by the captivity of Burgoyne and his army. But what is most surprising, after the Delaware was restored to his use, and the communication with the fleet completely enjoyed, that he should have relinquished his resolution of fighting Washington at White Marsh, having ascertained by his personal observation, that no material difficulty presented itself on the old York road; by which route he could, with facility, have turned Washington's left, and have compelled him to a change of position with battle, or to a perilous retreat. And last, though not least in magnitude, knowing, as sir William ought to have known, the sufferings and wants of every kind to which Washington was exposed at Valley Forge, as well as that his army was under inoculation for the smallpox, while he himself was so abundantly supplied with every article requisite to give warmth and comfort to his troops, it is wonderful how he could omit venturing a winter campaign, to him promising every advantage, and to his antagonist, menacing every ill—this too, when the fate of Burgoyne was no longer doubtful, and its adverse influence on foreign powers unquestionable, unless balanced by some grand and daring stroke on his part. The only plan practicable was that above suggested; an experiment urged by all the considerations which ever can command high-spirited enterprise.

These are undeniable truths; and they involve an inquisitive mind in a perplexity, not easy to be untangled. It would be absurd to impute this conduct to a want of courage in sir William Howe; for all acknowledge that he eminently possessed that quality. Nor can it be justly ascribed to either indolence of disposition, or a habit of sacrificing his duties to self care; for he possessed a robust body, with an active mind, and, although a man of pleasure, subdued, when necessary, its captivating allurements with facility. To explain it, as some have done, by supposing him friendlly to the revolution, and therefore to connive at its success, would be equally stupid and unjust; for no part of sir William's life is stained with a single departure from the line of honor. Moreover, traitors are not to be found among British generals; whose fidelity is secured by education, by their grade and importance in society, and by the magnificent rewards of government sure to follow distinguished efforts. The severe admonition, which sir

William had received from the disastrous battle of Bunker's, or rather Breed's, Hill, furnishes the most probable explanation of this mysterious inertness. On that occasion, he commanded a body of chosen troops, inured to discipline, and nearly double in number to his foe; possessing artillery in abundance, prepared in the best manner; with an army at hand ready to reinforce him, and led by officers, many of whom had seen service, all of whom had been bred to arms. His enemy was a corps of countrymen, who, for the first time, were unsheathing their swords; without artillery; defectively armed with fowling pieces, and muskets without bayonets; destitute of that cheering comfort, with which experience animates the soldier; with no other works than a slight redoubt, and a slighter trench, terminating in a yet slighter breast-work.

Sir William found this feeble enemy posted on the margin, and along the acclivity of the hill, commanded by colonel Prescot,* then unknown to fame: yet sir

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* The honor conferred upon colonel Prescot was only a promotion in the army soon after established; and this, the writer was informed by a gentleman residing in Boston who was well acquainted with colonel Prescot, consisted only in the grade of lieutenant colonel, in a regiment of infantry. Considering himself entitled to a regiment, the hero of Breed's Hill would not accept a second station. Warren, who fell nobly supporting the action, was the favorite of the day, and has engrossed the fame due to Prescot. Bunker's Hill too has been considered as the field of battle, when it is well known that it was fought upon Breed's Hill, the nearest of the two hills to Boston. No man reveres the character of Warren more than the writer; and he considers him-

William beheld these brave yeomen—while the conflagration of a town was blazing in their faces, while their flanks were exposed to maritime annoyance, and their front was assailed by regulars in proud array under the protection of cannon in full discharge—receive the terrible shock with firmness, coolly await his near approach, and then resolutely pour in a charge, which disciplined courage could not sustain. He saw his gallant troops fly—afterwards brought to rally with their colors, and, indignant at the repulse, return with redoubled fury. Sir William again saw these daring countrymen, unappalled in heart, unbroken in line, true to their generous leader and their inbred valor, calmly reserving themselves for the fatal moment, when his close advance presented an opportunity of winging every ball with death. Again the British soldiers, with the pupil of the immortal Wolfe at their head, sought safety in flight. Restoring his troops to order, sir William Howe advanced the third time, supported by naval cooperation, and a large battery on the side of Boston, which had now nearly demolished our slender defences. Notwithstanding this tremendous combination, sir William saw his gallant enemy maintain their ground, without prospect of succor, until their ammunition was nearly expended: then, abandoning their

self not only, by his obedience to truth, doing justice to colonel Prescot, but performing an acceptable service to the memory of the illustrious Warren, who, being a really great man, would disdain to wear laurels not his own.

works as the British entered them, they took the only route open to their escape with decision and celerity.

The sad and impressive experience of this murderous day sunk deep into the mind of sir William Howe; and it seems to have had its influence, on all his subsequent operations, with decisive control. In one instance only did he ever after depart from the most pointed circumspection; and that was, in the assault on Red Bank, from his solicitude to restore the navigation of the Delaware deemed essential to the safety of his army. The doleful issue of this single departure renewed the solemn advice inculcated at Breed's Hill, and extinguished his spirit of enterprise. This is the only way in which, it seems to me, the mysterious inertness which marked the conduct of the British general, so fatal in its effect to the British cause, can be intelligibly solved.

The military annals of the world rarely furnish an achievement which equals the firmness and courage displayed on that proud day by the gallant band of Americans; and it certainly stands first in the brilliant events of our war.

When future generations shall inquire, where are the men who gained the highest prize of glory in the arduous contest which ushered in our nation's birth—Upon Prescot and his companions in arms will the eye of history beam.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR Henry Clinton* had no sooner assumed the command in chief, than he began to prepare for the evacuation of Philadelphia, which was readily effected with his maritime assistance. Having put on board his ships every thing too heavy and cumbrous for land transportation, with the superfluous baggage of his army, he passed the river from the city, on the 18th of June, completely prepared for the difficult retreat it became his duty to undertake.

Washington, early apprised of the intended movement, gradually drew near to the Delaware, in the vicinity of Corryell's ferry, waiting for the unequivocal demonstration of the enemy's intention, before he ventured to leave Pennsylvania. In the mean time, he collected his scanty means of water transportation to the points on the river most convenient for his passage, and prepared himself for quiet movement. The restoration of the metropolis of the Union, to its rightful possessors, was as unimpressive in its general effect on the American mind, as had been its relinquishment to sir William Howe some months before. Congress, who had left it with some precipitation, on the approach of the enemy, assembled at York Town, one hundred miles west of the city, where having continued to hold its session, that body now returned to Philadelphia.

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* Sir Henry Clinton had served in the war of 1755 under prince Ferdinand; into whose family he was introduced, and continued as aid-de-camp to the prince throughout the war, highly respected and esteemed.

The loss of towns began to be properly understood in America: experience more and more illustrated, the difference between the same events in our thinly settled country, and the populous regions of Europe.

Clinton pursued his retreat slowly, betraying no symptoms of precipitation, but rather indicating a disposition for battle. Such conduct on his part was wise, and worthy of the pupil of prince Ferdinand. Having reached Mount Holly, he pointed his march to Brunswick: whether this was the route preferred by him, or such demonstration was made only to throw Washington more to his left, and further distant from the route he ultimately took, and which perhaps was that of his original choice, remains unascertained. It appears evidently from the movements of the American general, that he accredited the demonstrations made by his enemy towards Brunswick, never, however, putting himself too far to the left, should Clinton suddenly turn towards South Amboy or the heights of Middletown—the only lines of retreat left, should that to Brunswick be relinquished. Washington passed the Delaware three or four days after Clinton had crossed that river, and was nearer to either point of retreat, than was the British general. The Fabius of America, made up, as has been before observed, of great caution with superior enterprise, indulged the most anxious desire, to close with his antagonist in general action. Opposed to his wishes was the advice of his general officers: to this, he for a time yielded; but as soon as he discovered that the enemy had reached Monmouth court-house, not more than twelve miles from the heights of Middletown, he determined that he should not escape without a blow. He therefore selected a body of troops, and, placing them under the order of the marquis de la Fayette, (a French nobleman, whose zeal to acquire renown in arms had brought him to the tented fields of America) directed that officer to approach close to the foe, and to seize any advantageous occurrence for his annoyance, himself following with the main body in supporting distance. The marquis was young, generous, and brave; and, like most of his brother generals, yet little versed in the art of war. It was certainly a high trust to be confided to the young and captivating foreigner, though afterwards well justified by his conduct throughout the war. Nothing is more dangerous than to hang with an inferior force upon a gallant enemy, never disinclined to draw his sword, and watchful to seize every advantage within his reach. Soon after Fayette moved, a second corps was ordered to join him; and the united body was placed under the command of major general Lee, for the express purpose of bringing on battle, should the enemy still continue in his position at Monmouth court-house. In this officer was combined long and varied experience, with a profound military genius. He held too, not only the peculiar confidence of the commander in chief, but that of congress, the nation, and the army. On approaching Englishtown, a small village seven miles from the court-house, where sir Henry continued in his camp, he learned, that the enemy, having held back the elite of his army, was determined to cover Kniphausen, who, charged with the care of the baggage, was on his march to the heights of Middletown. Here he received orders from Washington to strike at the British rear, unless "strong reasons" forbade it; at the same time advising him of his approach to support him. Continuing to advance, he discovered the enemy in motion. 1778. June 28th. Clinton, having perceived various bodies of troops moving on his flanks, and apprehending that the column with his baggage might be grossly insulted, if not seriously injured, wisely resolved, by a forward movement, to check further pursuit. Cornwallis, who led the van troops, advanced upon Lee. This officer, concluding that he should most effectually answer the object of Washington by drawing the enemy to him, thus inducing the foe to expend his bodily strength, while he saved that of the American army, in a day of uncommon heat, instantly began to retrograde; to take which step he was additionally induced by discerning that the corps on his flank, under brigadier Scott, had repassed the ravine in his rear. This country abounds with defiles of a peculiar sort: the valleys are cut by small rivulets with marshy grounds, difficult to man and horse, and impossible to artillery, except in particular spots. Such was the one in Lee's rear, which Scott had passed. Persevering in his decision to join, rather than recal Scott, he continued to retire, making good his retreat without injury, and exposing his person to every danger. At this moment Washington came up, and finding his orders disobeyed, required explanation from general Lee with warmth. Unhappily Lee took offence at the manner in which he had been accosted, and replied unbecomingly, instead of entering into that full explanation, which his own honor, duty to his superior, and the good of his country, demanded. Such conduct in an inferior officer could not be brooked; and met, as it merited, marked disapprobation. As soon as Lee perceived it proper to deviate from his instructions, he certainly ought to have advised the commander in chief of such deviation, with the reasons which produced it. Thus acting he would probably have received commendation; and a combined attack, founded upon the full representation of the relative state of himself and the enemy, might have led to the happiest result.

This communication was neglected; and Lee was ordered into the rear, while the army moved on to battle. The action shortly after commenced; the day was remarkably sultry; and the American army considerably fatigued by its previous march.

The battle was, nevertheless, contested with peculiar keenness, and ceased in the evening as if by mutual consent. The American general determined to renew it in the morning, while sir Henry Clinton was as determined to avoid it.*

Judging from the official statements which were published, the loss was trifling and not very unequal; but the " stubborn fact" of burying the dead, manifests a great error in the report made by sir Henry Clinton to his government. He rated his dead and missing at one hundred and eighty-eight; whereas, we buried on the field of battle two hundred and forty-nine.

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* The enemy having united his columns on the heights of Middletown, an attempt to dislodge him would have been blind temerity. Had sir Henry Clinton not possessed this vast advantage, the victory would have been improved; and in any other period of the retreat might have been made decisive in all probability.

General Lee, in a letter dated Englishtown, June 28th, gives the following account of the battle of Monmouth.

" What the devil brought us into this level country, (the very element of the enemy) or what interest we can have (in our present circumstances) to hazard an action, somebody else must tell you, for I cannot. I was yesterday ordered (for it was against my opinion and inclination) to engage. I did, with my division, which consisted of about four thousand men. The troops, both men and officers, showed the greatest valor: the artillery did wonders; but we were outnumbered; particularly in cavalry, which was, at twenty different times, on the point of turning completely our flanks. This consideration naturally obliged us to retreat; but the retreat did us, I will venture to say, great honor. It was performed with all the order and coolness which can be seen on a common field day. Not a man or officer hastened his step, but one regiment regularly filed off from the front to the rear of the other. The thanks I received from his excellency were of a singular nature. I can demonstrate that had I not acted as I did, that this army, and perhaps America, would have been ruined."

Both sides claimed the victory, as is commonly the case when the issue is not decisive. Without doubt, sir Henry Clinton obtained his object, security from further molestation, and the completion of his retreat. This, however, was effected not in the usual style of conquerors, but by decamping in the night, and hastily joining Kniphausen, who had reached the heights of Middletown, near to the place of embarkation, and secure from assault. It must be admitted, on a full view of the action, that the palm of victory clearly belonged to Washington, although it was not decisive, nor susceptible of improvement.

Having rested his army a few days in the position of Middletown, the British general embarked in the transports waiting his arrival, and soon reached New York. Washington, after paying his last respects to the brave dead, and tenderly providing for the wounded, moved by easy marches to the Hudson, comforting, by every means in his power, his faithful troops, and once more took his favorite position near the western shore of that river, which was always considered by him as the point of connexion to the two extremes of the Union.

Major general Lee was arrested upon sundry charges, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from his command in the army for one year. The effect of which was, that the veteran soldier who had relinquished his native country, to support a cause dear to his heart, became lost to that of his adoption, and soon after lost to himself; as the few years he survived seem to have been passed in devotion to the sway of those human tormentors, envy and hate. The records of the court-martial manifest on their face the error of the sentence; and it is wonderful how men of honor and of sense could thus commit themselves to the censures of the independent and impartial. If general Lee had been guilty of all the charges as affirmed by their decision, his life was forfeited; and its sacrifice only could have atoned for his criminality. He ought to have been cashiered and shot; instead of which the mild sentence of suspension, for a short time, was the punishment inflicted. The truth is, the unfortunate general was only guilty of neglect in not making timely communication of his departure from orders, subject to his discretion, to the commander in chief, which constituted no part of the charges against him. This was certainly a very culpable omission; to which was afterwards added personal disrespect, where the utmost respect was not only due, but enjoined by martial law, and enforced by the state of things: two armies upon the very brink of battle, himself intrusted with the direction of an important portion of one of them, for the very purpose of leading into action, to withhold the necessary explanations from his chief, and to set the example of insubordination by his mode of reply to an interrogatory, indispensably though warmly, put to him, merited punishment. But this offence was different, far different from " disobedience to orders," or " a shameful retreat;" neither of which charges were supported by testimony; and both of which were contradicted by fact.

Soon after sir Henry Clinton's return to New York, the first result of the alliance concluded during the preceding winter at Paris, between the United States and his most christian majesty, announced itself in decisive operations on the part of the French monarch.

Admiral d'Estaing sailed from France in the beginning of the summer, for the American coast, to cooperate with the American army; and would have arrived in time to stop lord Howe in the Delaware, as was intended, had not his voyage been greatly retarded by the unusual continuance of contrary winds. The arrival of the fleet of our ally, though unproductive of the immediate effects expected, the destruction of the enemy's fleet in the Delaware, gave birth to new and interesting enterprises; the relation of which, not coming within the scope of this work, must necessarily be omitted. In the cursory survey taken, my single object has been, to present to the reader a lucid and connected statement of those transactions which bear in any degree upon the southern war, either by their own relation, or by their introduction of characters, destined to act principal parts upon that theatre.

CHAPTER X.

ALTHOUGH the surrender of Burgoyne, and Howe's declining to execute his menaced attack upon his adversary at White Marsh, did not convince the British minister of the futility of his attempt to subjugate these states, it produced a change in the temper of the cabinet. An idle and fruitless essay was made to reconcile the revolted colonies: idle, because too late; and fruitless, because founded on the revocation of their independence. Little minds always, in difficulty, resort to cunning, miscalling it wisdom: this quality seems to have been predominant in the cabinet of Great Britain, and was alike conspicuous in its efforts to coerce, and in its proffers to conciliate.

Lord North was their premier and first lord of the treasury. Heavy in mind as in body, dexterous in the management of the house of commons, dead to all those feelings whose infusion, into the mass of the people, gives comfort to the ruled, and strength to the ruler; cherishing with ardor the prerogative of the king, restricting with stubbornness the rights of the people; he seems never to have discerned that the only way to make the monarch great, is to make the subject happy—in finance rather systematic, plodding and adroit, than original, deep and comprehensive—in parliament decent, sensible, and laborious, with some of the glitter of wit, but with none of the effulgence and majesty of eloquence—in private life amiable and exemplary, better qualified for the enjoyments of its tranquil scenes, than to direct, in the storm of war, the helm of a brave, intelligent, powerful nation. The minister, in addition to the difficulties growing out of his own inadequacy, had to contend with obstacles inherent in the nature of the conflict, and powerful in their effect. Slavery, however dressed, is loathsome to the British palate; and the attempt to deprive America of her birthright, never could be cordially relished, although ostensibly supported. This innate abhorrence formed a current against administration, constant though slow, puissant though calm. Nor were statesmen wanting who proclaimed, with resistless force, the danger to British liberty from American slavery. At the head of this patriot band, stood the mighty Chatham. Towering in genius, superb in eloquence, decisive in council, bold in action, loving England first and England always, adored by the mass of the people, and dreaded by the enemies of English liberty, he unceasingly cherished the good old cause, for which Hampden fought, and Sidney bled. The premier, driven from his original purpose, by events resulting from his liberti-cide system, had not that sublimity of mind, which can renounce error with dignity, and turn calamity to account; or he would ere now have closed his vain and wasting war, by the acknowledgment of our independence, restoring and riveting our commercial intercourse.

Despairing of the subjugation of all the states, he determined to apply his disposable force to the reduction of the weakest portion of the Union. With this view sir Henry Clinton, on his return to New York, began to make arrangements for a plan of operation to be executed as soon as the French fleet should quit the American coast.

The count d'Estaing sailed from Boston, for the West Indies, on the 3d of November; soon after which lieutenant colonel Campbell was detached with three thousand men for the reduction of Georgia; orders having been despatched to brigadier general Prevost, commanding the British troops in East Florida, which adjoins the state of Georgia on the southwest, to invade it from that quarter, and to assume the direction of the united detachments.

CHAPTER XI.

SINCE the expedition under sir Henry Clinton, in 1776, against Charleston, which had been completely baffled by the judicious arrangements of major general Lee, seconded by the gallant defence of Fort Moultrie, by the excellent officer whose immortal name it bears, then a colonel in the South Carolina line, the southern states had remained safe from hostile interruption, with the exception of some light predatory incursions from East Florida.

The squadron conveying lieutenant colonel Campbell appeared off the Tybee river in the latter part of December; and no time was lost by that active officer in effecting his debarkation, which took place on the 29th at Gerridge's plantation, twelve miles up the river, and three miles below Savannah the capital of the state, situated on the south side of the river Savannah.

1778. Dec. 29.

Major general Robert Howe commanded the American force in Georgia, consisting of some regulars, and such portion of the militia as he might be able to collect. At this period it is supposed he had under him one thousand and five hundred men, having considerably reduced his effective strength by an unsuccessful expedition to East Florida, from which he had just returned, and was now encamped in a position which seems to have been judiciously selected, one half mile from the town of Savannah, across the main road leading to it.

The ground was well adapted to his force, and was secured by advantages of art and nature. At a small distance in his front, extending parallel to it, was a lagoon, through which the road passed. The bridge over the rivulet, running through the lagoon, was destroyed to retard the enemy's advance. His right was covered by a morass, thick set with woods, and interspersed with some houses occupied by riflemen; his left rested on the swamps of the river; and his rear was sustained by the town and old works of Savannah. To give additional strength to his position, he dug a trench from one morass to the other, a small distance in his front.

Thus posted, the American general coolly waited the approaching attack with his inferior force.

A small skirmish ensued as the British van emerged out of the low grounds; in which captain Campbell, of the 17th regiment, fell, much regretted.

The lieutenant colonel, having landed with the first division, occupied himself with the preparations for action. While reconnoitring our position, he accidentally learned, that a by-path within his view led through the swamp to our rear. Intelligence so acceptable was instantly applied to his plan of battle.

Having arrayed his troops in our front, sir James Baird was detached with the light infantry and the New York volunteers to gain our rear by moving occultly along the accidentally discovered path.

Waiting the effect of his operation, the British continued quiet in line of battle. Very soon sir James reached his destined point; when issuing out of the swamp he charged a body of militia stationed in our rear. This was the signal for general assault. The British line advanced with promptitude, driving our troops, broken and embarrassed by this unexpected attack in the rear, from their ground. The defeat was instantaneous and decisive. Howe was pursued through Savannah, and with a small part of his army escaped into South Carolina, losing before night five hundred and fifty men, killed and taken, with his artillery and baggage.

Never was a victory of such magnitude so completely gained, with so little loss, amounting only to seven killed and nineteen wounded. The town, fort, cannon, shipping and stores of every kind, fell into the hands of the victor; whose conduct to the inhabitants was peculiarly kind and amiable.

General Howe was, after a considerable lapse of time, brought before a court of inquiry, and acquitted.

However we must applaud the judgment displayed by the American general in selecting and improving his position; however we must honor his gallant determination to receive the enemy's attack, with an inferior force; yet, as this resolution, in prudence, must have been formed in the advantages of his ground, we cannot excuse the negligence betrayed by his ignorance of the avenues leading to his camp.

How happens it, that he, who had been in command in that country for many months, should not have discovered the by-way passing to his rear, when lieutenant colonel Campbell contrived to discover it in a few hours? The faithful historian cannot withhold his condemnation of such supineness. Thus it is, that the lives of brave men are exposed, and the public interest sacrificed. Yet notwithstanding such severe admonitions, rarely does government honor with its confidence, the man whose merit is his sole title to preference: the weight of powerful connexions, or the arts of intriguing courtiers, too often bear down, unsupported, though transcendent, worth.

Brigadier general Prevost, having entered Georgia in conformity with his orders, invested Sunbury, which he soon compelled to surrender. Having placed a garrison in the fort, the brigadier continued his march to Savannah, and took upon himself the command of the united forces. He detached lieutenant colonel Campbell to Augusta, then a frontier town, and, like Savannah, situated on the southern 1779. banks of the same river. Meeting with no resistance, Campbell readily effected his object by possessing himself of the town. Thus, in the short period of one month, was the state of Georgia restored to the Feb. 1. British crown.

General Prevost persevered in the lenient course adopted by lieutenant colonel Campbell, sparing the property, and protecting the persons of the vanquished. Nor was he disappointed in the reward due to policy, so virtuous and wise.

The affections of the people were enlisted on the side of the conqueror; and the youth flocked to the British standard.

From Augusta lieutenant colonel Hamilton, of the North Carolina regiment, advanced, with a suitable detachment, further west to crush all remaining resistance, and to encourage the loyalists to step forward and give their active aid in confirming the establishment of royal authority. Every attempt to interrupt the progress of this officer was ineffectual; and seven hundred loyalists imbodied with the determination to force their way to the British camp.

Colonel Pickens, of the South Carolina militia, true to his country, and correctly interpreting the movement under Hamilton, assembled his regiment and drew near to him for the purpose of counteracting his operations.

Finding this officer invulnerable, he suddenly turned from him to strike at the loyalists advancing towards Augusta. He fell in with them at Kettle creek, and instantly attacked them. The action was contested with zeal and firmness; when colonel Boyd, the commander of the loyalists, fell; and his death was soon followed by the route of his associates. Nevertheless, three hundred of the body contrived to effect their union with the British army.

This single, though partial check, was the only interruption of the British success from the commencement of the invasion.

The delegates in congress, from the states of South Carolina and Georgia, had some time before urged the substitution of a more experienced commander of the southern department* in the place of general Howe.

This solemn application did not fail to engage the serious attention of that respectable body. Not only was the desired substitution made, but the states of Virginia and North Carolina were pressed, in 1778. Sept. 25. the most forcible terms, to hasten succour to their afflicted sisters.

North Carolina obeyed with promptitude the demand of congress; and two thousand of her militia, under generals Ashe and Rutherford, reached Charleston before the expedition under lieutenant colonel Campbell was announced on the southern coast. But this auxiliary force was unarmed; North Carolina being very destitute of that primary article of defence. South Carolina, more provident, because more attractive from the wealth concentered in its capital, had in due time furnished herself with arms, but was indisposed to place them out of her control, especially as it was then uncertain whether she might not be the point of invasion.

The zeal displayed by North Carolina, while it entitled her to commendation, was thus unproductive of the expected effect. Nor until after the defeat of Howe was this force in readiness to repair to the theatre of action.

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* The southern department comprehended Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, lately Maryland and Delaware were added. See Appendix, C.

Major general Lincoln, of Massachusetts, had been selected by congress in the place of Howe.* This officer was a soldier of the revolution: his stock of experimental knowledge, of course, could not have been very considerable, although he had seen more service than most of our officers of the same standing. He had uniformly possessed the confidence of Washington, who had often intrusted him with important commands; and he was second to Gates at Saratoga, greatly contributing by his judicious and spirited conduct, to the happy issue of that momentous campaign. Upright, mild, and amiable, he was universally respected and beloved; a truly good man, and a brave and prudent, but not consummate, soldier. Lincoln hastened towards his post, and, having reached Charleston, bestowed his unremitted attention to the timely completion of the requisite arrangements for the defence of the south.

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* General Howe joined the main army under the commander in chief, where he served to the end of the war. A court of inquiry was held to investigate the cause of his defeat before Savannah, who reported favorably to the major general.

Copy of a letter to general Washington on southern affairs.

Philadelphia April 28th, 1779.

Sir,

The inclosed letter from the lieutenant governor of South Carolina, committed to the consideration of a committee of three, and which, in the name of the committee, I have now the honor to inclose your excellency, will show you the extremity to which our affairs in that quarter are driving. The committee find a choice of difficulties in this business, because the reliance on militia from Virginia having in a great degree failed, there appears no remedy but such as will lessen the force you had a right to expect from Virginia for reinforcing the main army. We have no reason to suppose that a greater force than fourteen hundred militia, perhaps not more than one thousand, will go from North Carolina; and of the one thousand ordered by the government of Virginia, we learn that not more than three hundred and fifty have been obtained. In this state of things, the committee submit, to your excellency's wisdom and better knowledge of the general state of military affairs and intended operations, the following measures. That the two thousand new recruits now in Virginia be forthwith regimented and ordered to join the southern army; that a sum of money be sent to colonel Bland, with orders to re-enlist the men of his regiment, and proceed without delay to the same destination, with his battalions of light horse. If, sir, this plan should meet your approbation, the committee are of opinion, that the sooner it were carried into execution the better.

Here he heard of the descent of lieutenant colonel Campbell, and the disastrous overthrow of Howe. Hurried by this event he quickly reached the confines

Your excellency will be pleased to return the inclosed letter; and the committee wish to be favored with your opinion of the eligibility of this measure, and if there is a probability of its being soon executed; or what additional or other method may occur to your excellency for the relief of the southern states, which we find by conversing with general Howe, (who has just arrived here) demands speedy and powerful assistance.

I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of esteem and regard, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and very humble servant,
Richard Henry Lee

1779. Jan. 7.

of Georgia, and having united the remains of the defeated army, with the troops of the two Carolinas, he established himself in Perrysburg, a small village on the northern side of the Savannah, about fifteen miles above the capital of Georgia.

The British force under Prevost at this period is stated to have been nearly four thousand; while that under Lincoln did not exceed three thousand and six hundred; of which, only eleven hundred were continentals.* The superiority of Prevost, especially in the quality of his troops, was in a great degree lost by their distribution, in different stations, from Savannah to Augusta, a distance of one hundred and forty miles. Nor would it have been a safe operation, had his force been concentered, to have passed the difficult river of Savannah, with its broad and deep swamps, in the face of Lincoln. The British general, satisfied for the present, with the possession of Georgia, devoted his mind and force to the preservation and confirmation of the fruits of his success. With this view, and to this end, he persevered in sustaining his long line of defence, although his enemy separated only by the river, kept his force compact.

About this time Prevost, availing himself of his naval aid, and of the interior navigation, made an establishment on the island of Port Royal, under major Gardner, with two hundred men. The object of this inexplicable movement could not then be ascertained; nor has it since been developed. Colonel, now general Moultrie, soon dislodged Gardner, with considerable loss, and would have annihilated the detachment, had not the want of ammunition prevented the victor from improving his advantage. The Charleston militia behaved admirably in this affair. The captains, Barnwell, Heyward, Rutledge, and lieutenant Wilkins, eminently distinguished themselves: the latter officer was killed.

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* "Continentals" mean regular soldiers enlisted and paid under the authority of congress. The continental troops had not seen service, being composed of the line of the Carolinas and Georgia, with the exception of the gallant defenders of Fort Moultrie in 1776.

CHAPTER XII.

Feb. GENERAL LINCOLN, at length strengthened by considerable reinforcements of the militia, came to the resolution of acting offensively.

A considerable detachment (nearly one thousand and five hundred, all militia except one hundred regulars) was placed under the orders of general Ashe, who was directed to take post opposite to Augusta. Before Ashe reached the place of his destination, the British troops fell back from Augusta, and, crossing Brier Creek, encamped at Hudson's Ferry, twenty-four miles above Ebenezer, then the head-quarters of the royal army.

The abandonment of Augusta very much gratified Lincoln, who was extremely anxious to cover the upper parts of the state, for the double purpose of reducing the enemy to narrower limits, and uniting to his arms the hardy sons of the west. He therefore ordered Ashe to pass the river, and to place himself behind Brier Creek, where it falls into the Savannah; secured in his front by the creek, on his left by the river, he could only be assailed on his right. To enable him to explore accurately this quarter, a squadron of dragoons was annexed to his corps, and to give to his condition the utmost activity, the baggage of the detachment, was ordered to be removed to the north side of the Savannah. Feb. 28th.

General Prevost was not at a loss for the motives of this operation, nor insensible to its consequences.

He determined without delay to dislodge Ashe from the position he had taken. To conceal his real object, he made some demonstrations of crossing the Savannah with his main body, when the detachment prepared to strike at general Ashe, advanced upon Brier Creek. Major Macpherson openly moved along the main road, and attracted, as was intended, the undeviating attention of the American brigadier, while lieutenant colonel Prevost, by an occult march of fifty miles, forded the creek fifteen miles above our position, and fell suddenly in its rear. General Elbert*, with the band of continentals, made a brave but ineffectual stand. They were made prisoners, and the whole body put to the rout, with the loss of only five privates killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded. Great was the loss on the side of America; and, of those who did escape, only four hundred and fifty rejoined our army.

March 4.

Lieutenant colonel Prevost did honor to himself, by the handsome manner in which he accomplished the enterprise committed to his conduct. While commendation is justly bestowed upon the British officer, censure cannot be withheld from the American commandant. The flattering prospect of recovering a lost state was dashed to pieces in an instant, by the culpable inattention of an officer, high in rank, highly entrusted, and imperatively summoned to take care that his country should not be injured by his negligence; yet it was injured, and that too, while the late terrible blow, sustained from the cause by general Howe, was fresh in recollection, and while the wounds there received were still bleeding.

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* Ramsey calls him colonel Elbert.

Relieved, by this decisive victory, of all apprehension heretofore entertained, of the stability of the change effected in Georgia, the British general reestablished, by proclamation, the royal government, as it existed on the commencement of the revolution, and renewed his endeavors to rekindle the spirit of loyalty, which had been very much damped by the evacuation of Augusta, the victory of Perkins, and the menacing movement of general Lincoln.

Disaster upon disaster called for increased vigor in our counsels. This manly disposition happily ensued. John Rutledge, who had taken an early and distinguished part in the revolution, was called to the chair of government in South Carolina, and invested with dictatorial power. An accomplished gentleman, a profound statesman, a captivating orator, decisive in his measures, and inflexibly firm, he infused his own lofty spirit into the general mass. The militia rallied around the American standard; and general Lincoln soon found himself in strength to resume the judicious plan of holding Augusta and the upper country of Georgia.

About this time the legislature of Georgia was to convene in Augusta. To protect it was a weighty consideration with the American general, whose force had increased to five thousand men. Leaving, therefore, one thousand under general Moultrie, for the defence of the posts of Perrysburg and the Black Swamp, Lincoln decamped on the 23d of April for Augusta. The British general observed this movement, with those emotions it was calculated to excite; nor did he pause a moment in taking the resolution to counteract it. To advance upon Augusta was the plan which caution suggested, and which policy dictated; for, although inferior in numbers, he far excelled in the character of his troops, in the quality of his arms, and in the abundance of every thing requisite to preserve the health, strength, and spirit, of his soldiers. Battle, without delay, was the true system for a general thus situated, more especially, as conquest, not defence, was his object. Believing that he could compel Lincoln to relinquish his plan, without the hazard of engaging him, remote from a place of safety, and with inferior numbers, he determined to cross the Savannah, and to threaten Charleston. In a few days after Lincoln's decampment, the British general passed this river, and pressed with vigor upon our posts of Perrysburg and the Black Swamp, which were successively evacuated. Driving general Moultrie before him, Prevost continued to advance with rapidity. Moultrie sat down at Tulifinny bridge, leaving lieutenant colonel Laurens with a small party of continentals, and a body of the militia at Coosawhatchie bridge to defend that pass. Laurens executed his orders with zeal and gallantry, but at length was obliged to fall back upon

April 25.

Moultrie, his troops having suffered considerably, and himself having been wounded. Captain Shubrick conducted our retreat much to his honor. Communication of Prevost's passage across the river, and of his subsequent operations, was, from day to day, transmitted to the American commander, who, penetrating his enemy's design, sternly held his original course, detaching three hundred light infantry under colonel Harris to general Moultrie. The unexpected facility with which the British general moved, the slight resistance opposed to him, the favorable intelligence received, and the fame of the signal success which had heretofore crowned his exertions, from the first moment of the invasion, combined, produced a conclusion in his favor too flattering to be resisted.

He converted a feint into a fixed operation, and henceforward marched on with the avowed purpose of seizing the metropolis of South Carolina. Nor was this avowal unsupported by appearances. For Lincoln, by steady adherence to his original purpose, founded on his just conviction, that the enemy's entrance into South Carolina meant nothing more than to draw him from Augusta, had now gone too far to return and afford timely interposition.

Governor Rutledge, with the reserve militia, had established himself at Orangeburg, a central position, perfectly adapted to the convenient reception and distribution of this species of force, which is ever in a state of undulation.

He was far on Prevost's left, and, like Lincoln, was hors de combat. Moultrie only could gain the town: and Moultrie's self was a host; but his force was not of that patient and stubborn sort, who would dig and fight, and fight and dig, systematically. Charleston, too, was unprepared for an attack by land, heretofore providing defence on the outer side only; and as to this mode of protection, through the blunder of sir Henry Clinton, and the gallantry of general Moultrie in 1776, the reputation of adequacy had been attached; and the inhabitants reposed with confidence in their security until the unequivocal demonstration of general Prevost's intention with his rapid approach expelled their groundless belief. Here mark the fallibility of man; observe the difference between the mediocre and the consummate soldier. The British general had been led, as before explained, to change stratagem into a fixed invasion. The boldness of the design, and the rapidity of its execution, produced the state of things which occasioned this change of plan. Ought not the same boldness and the same rapidity to have been continued to the completion of the enterprise? Common sense forbids a negative to the interrogation; and yet this general, this conqueror, stops about half way for two days.

On the third he advances; but forty-eight hours lost, in his situation, gave a finishing blow to his grand project.

The father of the state had removed from Orange-

May 10th. burg with the reserve, to throw himself into Charleston if possible. What was before impossible, had become possible by the forty-eight hours' delay of Prevost. Rutledge joined Moultrie; and Charleston became safe.*

Pulaski, a name dear to the writer, from a belief in his worth, and a knowledge of the difficulties he May 11th. always had to encounter, entered also; and on the same day which brought the British army before the town. All that was wanted for its defence was now done. Persuaded that the means in possession were adequate, if faithfully applied, and feeling the noble ardor which men, defending their houses in which the precious treasures of wives and children are deposited, always feel, the spirit resulting from such emotions spread through every rank, and formed a phalanx of courage impenetrable to the fiercest assaults. Such was now the condition of the besieged town; and such had been the error of the victorious general.

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* Military history abounds with examples illustrating the preciousness of a few hours. It seems unaccountable that, nevertheless, the salutary counsel to be drawn from its instructive page is seldom regarded. General Prevost consumed the time in deliberating upon his measures which, properly used, would have secured his success. The moment he began to doubt, he was lost. Hannibal, the prince of war, is charged with having lost Rome by his waste of a few days after the battle of Cannæ. Whether his failure before Rome resulted from his delay remains uncertain. His great name forbids the credence of any imputation lessening his fame without full proof. No man can doubt but that the British general lost Charleston by his waste of forty-eight hours; and yet, for aught the writer knows, the delay might have proceeded from necessity, not from choice.

The time gained by the Americans had been most advantageously used. Defences on the land side had been pushed with unceasing exertion, and though not complete were formidable. Masters and servants, boys and girls, mixed in the honorable work of self-defence. The beloved governor and heroic defender of Fort Moultrie, by their dictation and their example, reinspired effort, even when drooping nature begged repose. On the day subsequent to investiture the town was summoned, and favorable terms of surrender were proffered. These were rejected, and our works permitted to advance during the discussion. The rejection surely ought to have been followed by immediate storm or retreat.

May 12th.

Neither took place: the whole day was intentionally on the part of the besieged, and erroneously on the part of the besieger, spent in the adjustment of terms. Thus twelve precious hours more were gained. The correspondence closed with the proposal on our part, of neutrality to the town and state during the war, the peace to fix its ultimate condition. This offer was rejected by the British general; and he followed its rejection, by retiring from before the town during the night. What train of reasoning could have produced the rejection of the proposition to surrender the town on condition of neutrality by a

May 13th.

general situated as was Prevost, I confess myself incapable of discerning.

The moment he found that the works could not be carried, he ought to have exerted himself to procure possession by negotiation; and certainly the condition of neutrality was in itself eligible. It disarmed South Carolina for the war; the effect of which upon her infant sister, already nearly strangled, would have been conclusive; and congress would have soon found, that her army, unaided by South Carolina, could not be maintained in Georgia.

No British force would have been retained from the field, to preserve the neutral state; and the sweets of peace, with the allurements of the British commerce, would probably have woven a connexion with Great Britain, fatal in its consequences, to the independence of the southern states.

At all events, by the rejection of the proposal, when about to withdraw with his army, the expedition became abortive. Whereas acceptance of the proffered condition would have obviated the disgrace attached to such a result, and deprived general Lincoln of a great portion of his force, and of all the arms, stores, &c. deposited in Charleston. General Prevost had scarcely crossed the Ashley river before the American general, returning from Augusta, by forced marches reached Dorchester, the threshold of the isthmus leading to Charleston, made by the Ashley and Cooper rivers, which, uniting below the town, pass to the sea.

May 14th.

Reposing a few days in his camp, on the south of Ashley river, Prevost commenced his retreat along the sea-coast, which, with his maritime means, was readily and safely effected.

He first entered James' Island, then John's Island, where he established himself, waiting for a supply of stores, daily expected from New York.

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL Lincoln, having called in his different corps, broke up from his position in Dorchester, and sat down close to John's Island, which the Stono inlet separates from the main.

On the main at the ferry, upon this inlet or river, the van of the British was posted, consisting of one thousand and five hundred men under lieutenant colonel Prevost, who had erected three redoubts in his front for the security of his position. The numerous small craft, being fastened together, formed a communication between the van and the main body on the islands.

Notwithstanding the British expedition had issued in disappointments, to which in military transactions more or less ignominy is always attached, Lincoln was not satisfied, but was very desirous to wind up with eclat the toilsome and passive operations, into which he had been reluctantly drawn, by his enterprising adversary. The van of the enemy only was within his reach; and as the bridge of boats afforded the sole conveyance to troops detached to its support, the supporting force was necessarily limited. Relying upon the advantage this circumstance afforded, Lincoln moved towards Stono on the 4th June, with the

June 4th.

resolution of striking at the van post; but after examining the enemy's condition, he thought proper to decline risking an assault.

In the course of ten or twelve days, lieutenant colonel Prevost, with a portion of the army, was detached to the Savannah. The vessels forming the temporary bridge being taken by this officer (in consequence of the intention then entertained of retiring from the main) for the purpose of conveying his troops, the communication across the Stono, reverted to ferry transportation. General Prevost afterwards relinquished his design of drawing his van into the island, and sent lieutenant colonel Maitland to take charge of it.

This officer possessed a growing reputation which he well deserved. Not only was the boat bridge broken up, rendering the communication more inconvenient, but the garrison had been reduced to five hundred men. Maitland hastened to improve his condition by separating from it every incumbrance. His sick, his spare baggage, his horses, with every other appurtenance, not necessary to defence, were conveyed across the Stono; and he added to the security of his post all those aids from labor, which genius and industry beget.

Lincoln was soon advised of the departure of lieutenant colonel Prevost, with the simultaneous occurrences. Resuming his original design, he did not hesitate to seize the present inviting opportunity to execute it. On the 19th he moved with his army, determined to attack Maitland on the next morning. In accordance with this decision, general Moultrie was directed to take possession of James' Island with a detachment from Charleston, for the purpose of passing thence into John's Island in order to draw upon himself the attention of the British general, and thus divert him from the attack upon his van. The ground in front of the enemy was level, and covered, at a small distance from his works, with a grove of large pine trees.

June 20th. On the 20th, Lincoln advanced to the assault. The North Carolina militia composed his right,* under brigadier Butler and his regulars, his left under general Sumner. The flanks were covered by light troops, lieutenant colonel Henderson at the head of one, and colonel Malmedy at the head of the other corps; and the reserve consisted of the cavalry, with a small brigade of Virginia militia under general Mason. The Highlanders, called the best troops of the enemy, being known to take post on his right, became by this order of battle opposed to the continental soldiers. Maitland's piquets announced the American approach; and the British detachment formed for action. The seventy-first regiment was posted on the right, and a regiment of Hessians on the left. Lieutenant colonel Hamilton, with the North Carolina regiment, composed the centre. The British flanks seemed to be secure; as the one rested upon a morass, and the other upon a deep ravine. The first was firm enough to bear infantry; and the other was not intersected by water. Notwithstanding appearances, both were, in fact, assailable. The retiring piquets were supported by two companies of the seventy-first regiment, who, with their usual intrepidity, rushed into close action, and, fighting bravely, were mostly destroyed. This advantage encouraged the assailants, who were now ordered to reserve their fire and to put the issue of the battle on the bayonet.

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* General Lincoln set an example, in his order of battle, worthy of imitation by all commanders at the head of unequal troops, as was invariably the case with American commandants.

Knowing that the Highlanders would take the enemy's right, he placed his continentals on his left, whereas, agreeably to usage, they would have composed our right. Form ought ever to yield to substance, especially in the arrangements for battle.

Our troops advanced with alacrity; and the enemy waited their approach until we got within sixty yards of the abbatis, when a full fire from the artillery and small arms was delivered. Disobeying orders, our line returned the fire, which was continued on both sides without intermission for half an hour. The action became keen and general; the Americans continuing their fire with ardor. The enemy's left was driven back; and Maitland, seeing his danger, made a quick movement with the seventy-first regiment, from the right to the left, supplying its vacancy with his reserve. The Highlanders revived the contest on the left. The Hessians, being rallied, were brought again into line: and the action raged with increased fury. Lincoln, foreseeing the consequences, was chagrined to find his plan of battle interrupted; and exerted himself to stop the fire. At length he succeeded: a pause ensued; and the order for charge was renewed. Vain attempt! the moment was passed; and instantly the firing recommenced, and continued for more than one hour: when the army of general Prevost was seen hastening to the ferry; Moultrie having failed in making the intended diversion for want of boats. The British lieutenant colonel manifested by the past conflict the probable issue of the future, strengthened, as he soon would be, by the support fast approaching; which consideration induced Lincoln to order a retreat. This movement produced now, as it generally does, some disorder; which being perceived by Maitland, he advanced upon Lincoln with his whole force. The cavalry (Pulaski was not present) were ordered up by the American general to charge the enemy, whose zeal in pursuit had thrown them into loose order. This was gallantly executed; but Maitland closed his ranks as the horse bore upon him, and giving them a full fire from his rear rank, the front, holding its ground with charged bayonets, brought this corps (brave, but undisciplined) to the right about.* Thus terminated the battle of Stono. It was evidently lost, first, by the failure in the diversion from Charleston, secondly by the erroneous plan of attack, and lastly by the deviation from orders in its execution. It seems surprising that if, as we must presume, a sufficiency of boats had been ascertained to have been at our command before the assault was determined upon, how it could happen that any deficiency should occur in the moment of execution, unless from want of due attention in the department charged with their collection, which evinces culpable negligence. Due force of battle was pointed against the enemy's front, in which lay his strength, as he had improved that part of his position by three redoubts, and other defences; whereas our chief effort ought to have been on his flanks, which invited primary attention, as they were unfortified, and would, upon due examination, have been found only to present an opposition easily overthrown. The morass was considered as impassable, whereas it was a firm marsh, lieutenant colonel Henderson having passed it in the course of the action with a part of his corps. The halt of the line, returning the enemy's fire instead of pressing on with the bayonet, baffled our last hope of victory; nor is it improbable, had the appeal to the bayonet been uninterrupted, but that our courage would have surmounted all difficulties; and that we should have obtained the desired prize with heavy loss, which was attainable by a small sacrifice of lives, had we directed our attack against the enemy's vulnerable points. There was throughout our war, a lamentable ignorance in the topography of the country in which we fought, imposing upon our generals serious disadvantages. They had to ascertain the nature of the ground by reconnoitring, or by inquiry among the inhabitants. The first was not always practicable; and the result of the last was generally defective. Government ought to provide, in time of peace, maps on a large scale of the various districts of the country, designating particularly the rivers, their tributary streams, the bridges, morasses and defiles, and hold them ready for use when wanting, or we shall have to encounter the same difficulties in any future, that we experienced in this, war.

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* Mason, with his Virginia brigade, now advanced, delivering a heavy fire. The enemy drew back; and our retreat was effected in tolerable order.

The loss was nearly equal, amounting to one hundred and sixty-five killed and wounded on the side of America. Among our killed was colonel Robert, of the Charleston artillery, a much respected officer. The American troops conducted themselves in this affair very much like genuine soldiers, except in the deranging breach of orders.

Lieutenant colonel Hamilton, with the majors M'Arthur and Moncruff, nobly supported Maitland throughout the action.

In the course of a few days, the British general retired from John's Island and the adjacent main, unperceived, pursuing his route along the interior navigation to Georgia, leaving lieutenant colonel Maitland at Beaufort, in the island of Port Royal, while general Lincoln, reduced by the return of the militia to the continentals, (about eight hundred) established himself at Sheldon, conveniently situated to attend to the enemy at Beaufort. The sultry season had set in; which, in this climate, like the frost of the north, gives repose to the soldier.*

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* The heat in the months of July and August forbade the toils of war. In 1781 we found the heat of September and October very oppressive.

Preparations for the next campaign, and the preservation of the health of the troops, now engrossed the chief attention of the hostile generals.

Prevost, having reached Savannah, took up his quarters for the season, detaching lieutenant colonel Cruger with one of the Provincial regiments to Sunbury.* This division of his force very well corresponded with the resumption of offensive operations, although it subjected the British to great hazard, should a superior French fleet visit our coast, as had happened the preceding year.

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* By retaining the post at Beaufort, the British general could readily penetrate by the means of the inland navigation into South Carolina, unmolested by the Americans, destitute as we were of naval force.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE contest for the southern section of the United States had been regarded, by the respective commanders in chief, with watchful attention; and each took measures to strengthen and invigorate the operations in that quarter. Washington, enfeebled as he was, detached to the south Bland and Baylor's regiments of horse, and the new levies recruited for the Virginia line; while sir Henry Clinton, viewing the destruction of the resources of the commonwealth of Virginia, as cutting up by the roots resistance in the south, planned an enterprise against that state, no sooner conceived than executed.*

A body of troops amounting to two thousand men was, early in May, placed under the command of brigadier general Matthews. Having immediately embarked on board the British squadron, conducted by sir George Collier, the fleet stood out to sea on the

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* This opinion of sir Henry Clinton was well founded: the destruction of the resources of Virginia must have led to the annihilation of southern opposition. She may be truly styled the matrix of resistance in the south. The other states were too remote to furnish many supplies, indispensable to the prosecution of the war in that extremity of the Union.

5th, and on the 9th anchored in Hampton roads. No country presents more easy access by water than Virginia, the object of his invasion. Deep navigable rivers every where intersect it, presenting to the maritime invader advantages too obvious to be overlooked, and trammeling the measures of defence with those difficulties which the severance of the inhabitants, by the enemy's possession of the rivers, and the toils and delays of circuitous marches, inevitably produce.

Aware of the disadvantages to which the state was exposed in war by these bountiful gifts of heaven, government had erected in the most vulnerable points slight fortifications to protect the inhabitants from predatory incursions, and raised a regiment of artillery at state expense, and for state purposes, particularly with the view of furnishing garrisons to their dispersed forts.

Norfolk, the great seat of Virginia commerce, is situated on the east side of Elizabeth river; opposite lies Portsmouth; and to the south, in the fork of the two branches of the Elizabeth, which unite immediately above Norfolk, is Gosport; where had been established a navy-yard for the use of the state. To this river, and to these towns, the British armament advanced. No difficulty interposed but the annoyance to be expected from one of those slight forts heretofore mentioned, and like all others erected in the state, exposed on the land side, being designed exclusively to defend the channel of the rivers on which they stood. Fort Nelson,* the principal of these defences, was situated on the west side of the Elizabeth, a little above the town of Norfolk, and in full command of the channel of the river.

Major Matthews,† with a garrison not exceeding one hundred and fifty men, was charged with the care of this post. On the 10th the fleet entered Elizabeth river, the army debarking three miles below Fort Nelson: preparations were made to gain its rear the next morning, and to carry the works by storm.

Open in this quarter, resistance would have been temerity. The major foreseeing the enemy's intention, evacuated the fort during the night, and retired to the margin of the Great Dismal Swamp, where he could, when necessary, secure his corps from insult or injury. The British general having thus possessed himself of the sole obstruction to his views, established head quarters in Portsmouth, detaching troops to Norfolk, Gosport, and the circumjacent depots of naval and military stores. Finding in these places abundant magazines, he destroyed all not shipped for New York, confounding private with public property.

The loss sustained was great, and the injury resulting from it greater, as our stores were much wanted, and could not be quickly replaced.

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* So named in commemoration of the patriotic and virtuous general Nelson, afterwards governor of the state, not more distinguished for his estimable qualities as a man than he was by his pure and gallant exertions in the cabinet and in the field.

† Thomas Matthews, since speaker of the house of delegates of Virginia.

The invasion was as short as it had been effectual; for before the close of the month the fleet and army reached New York.

Louis XVI, true to his plighted faith, had given instructions to his admirals in the West Indies to be always ready in the intermission of active operations in that quarter, to extend his assistance to his allies. Count d'Estaing, the same admiral who, in the past year, had been disappointed in his various efforts to contribute to our relief, still commanded on that station.

Governor Rutledge and general Lincoln, conscious, from the impotent condition of the enemy in the south, that he must soon fall, could the force of France in the West Indies be brought to bear upon him in conjunction with the southern American army, described in concert with Mons. Plombard, French consul at Charleston, the feeble and divided condition of the army under general Prevost, urging the count by the many weighty considerations, involved in the project, to devote himself to the proposed enterprise during the hurricane months, when, in the West India seas, naval operations cease. No mind was more obedient to the calls of duty, connected with the prospect of increasing his personal fame, than that of the French admiral; and he must have felt some anxiety to make amends in a second, for the disappointments experienced in his first, visit to our coast. He acceded in-

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stantly to the proposition; and, as soon as the season and his state of preparation permitted, he set sail from Cape François for Tybee with forty-one sail, mostly of the line, having on board ten regiments, amounting to six thousand men.

On drawing near the American coast, the count despatched two ships of the line and three frigates to Charleston, with major general Fontanges, to announce his approach, and to concert, with the governor and general, a plan of operations. Pursuing his course, with the remainder of the fleet, he arrived on the coast of Georgia early in September. Unapprehensive of danger from a French fleet, knowing, as did general Prevost, the British power upon the sea, the appearance of the count d'Estaing was as unexpected as it was alarming.

Several of the British ships of war on the Georgia station fell a prey to this sudden invasion; and the rest were saved by running them up the Savannah river.

Lincoln* immediately put his force in motion, and passed into Georgia at Zubly's Ferry on the 9th; while governor Rutledge, with his usual activity, imbodied the militia, hurrying them on by regiments to join the American general. At the same time he collected a number of shallops and despatched them to the French admiral for the purpose of facilitating the debarkation of his army.

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* General Lincoln passed the Savannah river at Zubly's ferry. On the south the swamps are very extensive, pierced by three creeks, over which, bridges had been erected. These had been broken down by the British general, and thus our progress was much retarded.

On the 13th d'Estaing landed three thousand men at Beaulieu: on the 15th he was joined by Pulaski and his legion; and on the next day the union of the allied army took place in front of the town of Savannah, general Lincoln having been delayed longer than he expected by the various obstacles opposed to his progress.

The British general was no sooner apprized of the appearance of the French fleet than he devoted himself to vigorous preparations to meet the unequal contest. Orders were hastened to the lieutenant colonels Maitland and Cruger, to join him by forced marches; and captain Henry, of the navy, laying up the remnant of his small and useless squadron, the marines, sailors and cannon, were landed, and the first united to the garrison, the last mounted on the batteries. Two hundred negroes were associated with the troops in labor; old works were strengthened, and new works erected. These were designed and executed by major Moncrieff, of the engineers, an officer of superior merit. Lieutenant colonel Cruger, with the garrison of Sunbury, had reached Savannah before the French army sat down before it. Maitland, with that of Beaufort, consisting of veteran troops, was yet absent.

Before the union of the two armies, the count d'Estaing summoned the British general in the name of his most christian majesty only. This offensive style violated the respect due from one sovereign to another, and could not have been relished by the American general, although policy may have forbid his noticing it at the moment.*

General Prevost, recollecting the late transactions before Charleston, determined to imitate the example furnished by his enemy on that occasion. He answered so as to protract negotiation, which terminated in his proposition of a truce for twenty-four hours, for the purpose of enabling him, as he suggested, to adjust terms of surrender, should he thus conclude. This was granted; so confident was count d'Estaing of ultimate success. Unfortunate respite! it gave not only time for the completion of much of the unfinished work; but what was infinitely more important, it enabled lieutenant colonel Maitland to assume his part in the defence, before a single offensive step was taken by the assailant. Cut off by the French fleet from the customary route to Savannah, the lieutenant colonel took the only one left which offered a prospect of arrival.

Great were the obstacles he had to encounter, sometimes on water, sometimes on land, in deep swamps and marshes, through which his soldiers had to drag the boats, himself ill with a bilious fever, and in every step of his progress subject to interception. Braving all these difficulties, this undaunted and accomplished officer made his way good to the river Savannah; where, embarking in boats above the anchorage ground of the French fleet, he entered the town before the expiration of the truce. Every benefit expected from the delay being derived, Prevost now answered, " that he should defend himself to the last extremity." This resolution accorded with the wish of all; such had been the change effected during the truce in the state of the besieged. Maitland's junction diffused universal joy, not only because he added one third to the number of the garrison, and that too in troops of the best quality, but because he added himself, always the source of comfort where danger reigned.

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* Whether general Lincoln remonstrated to the count for this folly, if unmeant, and for this impertinence, if meant, the writer cannot decide; but it has been often and confidently asserted, that the French commander explained the matter to general Lincoln's satisfaction.

The allied army having brought up their ordnance intended for the siege, broke ground on the 23d; and with such diligence were their approaches pushed that, in the course of twelve days, fifty-three pieces of battering cannon, and fourteen mortars, were mounted. All of these opened on the 4th of October, threatening speedy destruction to the enemy's defences. This dreadful display induced general Prevost to solicit the removal of the aged, the women, and children, to a place of safety; a request, sustained by the claims of humanity, and in no way injurious to the besieged, (the expectation of gaining the town being unconnected with the state of provisions) was unaccountably rejected by the confederate generals.

On the approach of the French, few guns were mounted in the works of the enemy; but such had been the vast exertions of general Prevost that now nearly one hundred of different calibers were in full array.

Savannah lying on the river is on that side safe. A deep morass stretches from the river above, and gives security to that quarter.

Fields environ it on the other two sides. Here the allies were approaching; and here were found the enemy's defences. Throughout had been erected redoubts and batteries secured wherever necessary in the rear, with impalements and traverses, and the whole surrounded with a ditch and abbatis. So well prepared for defence, the change from regular approaches to storm was the wish of the besieged, their fate being otherwise sealed unless relieved by a British fleet. Prevost did not waste his force in attempts to impede our advances, only two sorties being made during the siege; from neither of which did any material consequence ensue. He calculated on a storm, knowing the danger to the French fleet and army, separated as they were, from the active and daring operations of the British navy, as well as from those agitations of nature usual in the autumn, and so often destructive to ships on the coast. He also counted upon the impatient temper of the French identified in the character of their commander, not doubting from his being our voluntary assistant, he would take his measures from and for himself. Lincoln's wisdom, Lincoln's patience, Lincoln's counsel, would be very limited in its effect.

Thus judging, Prevost was right in preserving his full strength for the decisive hour. It soon came: already count d'Estaing had spent one month in the completion of an enterprise, which from the information he had received in Cape François, he calculated would have detained him ten days.* His naval officers felt for the safety of the fleet, and daily growing anxious for change of station, now became more pressing in their remonstrances; and the affairs in the West Indies (to which aid to us was always secondary) began to demand his attention. The count's own character gave pungency to the conclusion growing out of these considerations. He accordingly made known to Lincoln that the siege must be raised forthwith, or a storm attempted. Situated as the American general and the country in his care were, no alternative remained. However sincerely he must have wished for the continuance of the adopted system, safe and sure, he could not hesitate in renouncing it, and putting every thing to hazard, sooner than to abandon so important an enterprise.

It was of course determined to carry the enemy by storm, and the 9th of October, close at hand, was fixed for the assault. The plan of attack was judicious; the morass stretching from the river, and covering one quarter of the town, gave a concealed approach from a sink in the ground, along its margin leading to the British right, believed by the assailants to be the most vulnerable.* This advantage was seized by d'Estaing and Lincoln: they drew, into it two columns, the elite of the confederate force, determined to confide the issue to their prowess; while the American militia, threatening the centre and left, should thus distract the enemy's resistance. Prevost, anticipating with delight the chance of safety which could only be realized by a change in system on the part of the assailants, or by the approach of the British fleet, was always prepared. To the care of lieutenant colonel Maitland he assigned his right, his weakest part. The centre he confided to lieutenant colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina regiment, and the left to lieutenant colonel Cruger.

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* The information derived by the communication from the governor general, and French consul, before mentioned, and which led to the enterprise, was correct. D'Estaing found the enemy subdivided, the best officer and the best troops did not join until the truce was nearly expired. Any four hours before the junction of lieutenant colonel Maitland was sufficient to have taken Savannah.

General Prevost having lined the intrenchments with appropriate troops, held disposable to succeeding incidents the seventy-first regiment, two Hessian regiments, one battalion of the New Jersey brigade, one of the New York brigade, and the light infantry in a second line, safe from the injury of our fire.

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* The hollow way which led to the enemy's right gave great advantage to the assailant. It brought him close, unperceived and uninjured. The small distance to pass over when discovered, and when exposed to the enemy's fire, diminished greatly the loss to be sustained before he reached the ditch. So persuaded was the British general that his right was the part to be especially guarded, that there he posted his best troops, and there commanded lieutenant colonel Maitland.

The 9th of October dawned: the allied troops moved to the assault. The serious stroke having been committed to two columns, one was led by d'Estaing and Lincoln united, the other by count Dillon; the third column moved upon the enemy's centre and left, first to attract attention, and lastly to press any advantage which might be derived from the assault by our left.

The troops acted well their parts; and the issue hung for some time suspended. Dillon's column, mistaking its route in the darkness of the morning, failed in cooperation, and very much reduced the force of the attack; while that of d'Estaing and Lincoln, concealed by the same darkness, drew with advantage near to the enemy's lines undiscovered. Notwithstanding this loss of concert in assault by the two columns destined to carry the enemy, noble and determined was their advance. The front of the first was greatly thinned by the foe, sheltered in his strong and safe defences, and aided by batteries operating not only in front but in flank.

Regardless of the fatal fire from their covered enemy, this unappalled column, led by Lincoln and d'Estaing, forced the abbatis and planted their standards on the parapet. All was gone, could this lodgment have been sustained. Maitland's comprehensive eye saw the menacing blow; and his vigorous mind seized the means of warding it off. He drew, from the disposable force, the grenadiers and marines nearest to the point gained. This united corps under lieutenant colonel Glazier assumed with joy the arduous task to recover the lost ground. With unimpaired strength it fell upon the worried head of the victorious column; who, though piercing the enemy in one point, had not spread along the parapet; and the besieged bringing up superior force, victory was suppressed in its birth. The triumphant standards were torn down; and the gallant soldiers, who had gone so far towards the goal of conquest, were tumbled into the ditch and driven through the abbatis. About the time that Maitland was preparing this critical movement, count Pulaski at the head of two hundred horse, threw himself upon the works to force his way into the enemy's rear. Receiving a mortal wound, this brave officer fell; and his fate arrested the gallant effort which might have changed the issue of the day.* Repulsed in every point of attack, the allied generals drew off their troops. The retreat was effected in good order; no attempt to convert it into rout being made by the British general; who, having gained his object, wisely refrained from hazarding by this measure the safety of the town and garrison. From the enemy's artillery only, the retiring army received injury, which was considerable. Count d'Estaing, who, with general Lincoln, had courted danger to give effect to the assault, was wounded, as was major general Fontange, with several other officers. The French, killed and wounded, were rated at seven hundred men. The American regulars suffered in proportion: two hundred and forty being killed and wounded, while the militia from Charleston, their companions in danger, lost one captain killed, and six privates wounded. The enemy, fighting under cover

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* This gallant soldier was a native of Poland, whose disastrous history is well known. Vainly struggling to restore the lost independence of his country, he was forced to seek personal safety by its abandonment. Hearing of the noble struggle in which we were engaged, he hastened to the wilds of America, and associated himself with our perils and our fortune. Congress honored him with the commission of brigadier general, with a view, as was rumored, of placing him at the head of the American cavalry, the line of service in which he had been bred. But his ignorance of our language, and the distaste of our officers to foreign superiority, stifled this project. He was then authorized to raise a legionary corps, appointing his own officers.

Indefatigable and persevering, the count collected about two hundred infantry and two hundred horse, made up of all sorts, chiefly of German deserters. His officers were generally foreign, with some Americans. With this assemblage, the count took the field; and after serving some time in the northern army, he was sent to the south, and fell as has been described. He was sober, diligent and intrepid, gentlemanly in his manners, and amiable in heart. He was very reserved, and, when alone, betrayed strong evidence of deep melancholy. Those who knew him intimately spoke highly of the sublimity of his virtue, and the constancy of his friendship. Commanding this heterogeneous corps, badly equipped and worse mounted, this brave Pole encountered difficulty and sought danger. Nor have I the smallest doubt if he had been conversant in our language, and better acquainted with our customs and country, but that he would have become one of our most conspicuous and useful officers.

of their skilfully constructed works, suffered but little, only one hundred and twenty of the garrison being killed and wounded. The British general gained, as he merited, distinguished applause for the wisdom, vigilance and courage displayed throughout the siege. He was supported with zeal by every man under him, each in his station contributing his full share to the desired end. Captain Tawes, of the provincial troops, signalized himself by his intrepidity in defending the redoubts committed to his charge, the leading point of our assault. He fell dead at the gate with his sword plunged into the body of the third enemy, whom he had slain.

Lieutenant colonel Maitland, always great, surpassed upon this occasion his former glory; but to the deep regret of his admiring comrades, in a few days after our repulse, fell a victim to the fever which he had brought with him from Beaufort. Major Moncrieff, chief engineer, captain Charlton, commanding the artillery, and captain Harvey, of the navy, acting with the garrison, received the general's marked acknowledgments for their exemplary exertions. Nor was the allied army behind their successful foe in the race of glory. Every thing was done, which brave men could do. The darkness of the morning produced the loss of punctual combination between the columns charged with the assault; which unfortunate occurrence probably led to our repulse. The daring effort of the intrepid Pulaski to retrieve the fortune of the day, failing, with his much regretted fall, presents additional proof of the high spirit which actuated the besiegers, demonstrating that every difficulty was encountered, every danger braved, to crown the enterprise with success. While with pleasure we offer the praise due to confederates in the hour of assault, we cannot pass from this disastrous day without scrutinizing the preceding conduct of the leaders of the allied army.

First, we ask why the route between Beaufort and Savannah had not attracted primary attention. It must have been known that lieutenant colonel Maitland would level all obstacles sooner than fail to unite himself with general Prevost; and it ought to have been known that, Maitland being stopped, Savannah would fall. Yet it appears that this first object was entirely neglected; and it also appears that Maitland's junction, though unobstructed, was replete with difficulty.

Secondly, we cannot but express surprise, (it being clearly understood, that the French cooperation must be very limited in time) at the long delay of the assault. Had count d'Estaing, when his summons was answered by proposing a truce, penetrated the design of the enemy, rejected the proposal, and commenced the attack, the British general would have surrendered, as Maitland had not arrived, and the works were still incomplete. The rash decision, of defending himself thus circumstanced, could not have been adopted; and had it been adopted, the same gallantry displayed at a future day, the French must then have succeeded. The American general had not come up, and is of course exempt from his share in this animadversion: a delay unexpected and unfortunate, for probably had Lincoln been in place, the truce might have been rejected, and an assault adopted.

Our repulse was followed by raising the siege. The allied armies separated in good humor, although so lamentably foiled in their sanguine expectations.*

Without delay the count d'Estaing reembarked his troops, and, resuming his naval station in the West Indies, went himself to France, while general Lincoln returned to South Carolina.

The abandonment of the siege of Savannah closed the campaign, which had been active, daring and novel, ever presenting sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other, splendid prospects, and turning the moment of expected success into bitter disappointment: Charleston and Savannah alternately struck at by the opposite armies, both within the grasp of the assailant, and neither taken; the American army under Howe defeated; an imposing detachment under Ashe cut to pieces; Lincoln baffled at Stono ferry; the united forces of America and France repulsed before Savannah; yet notwithstanding these heavy disasters, the upper country of Georgia, the object of the contending generals, rested in the possession of the United States.

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* The thorough good will, exemplified by the general's troops when separating, induces the belief that the offensive style, in which the summons had been couched, had either been satisfactorily explained, or was understood by the American general to have been an accidental slip on the part of the count d'Estaing in the hurry of the moment.

CHAPTER XV.

WHILE the allied army was engaged before Savannah, colonel John White of the Georgia line, conceived and executed an extraordinary enterprise. Captain French, with a small party of the British regulars, was stationed on the Ogeechee river, about twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the same place lay five British vessels, of which four were armed, the largest mounting fourteen guns. White, having with him only captain Etholm and three soldiers, kindled many fires, the illumination of which was discernible at the British station, exhibiting, by the manner of ranging them, the plan of a camp. To this stratagem he added another: he and his four comrades, imitating the manner of the staff, rode with haste in various directions, giving orders in a loud voice. French became satisfied that a large body of the enemy were upon him; and, on being summoned by White, he surrendered (1st of October) his detachment, the crews of the five vessels, forty in number, with the vessels, and one hundred and thirty stand of arms.

Colonel White having succeeded, pretended that he must keep back his troops, lest their animosity, already stifled by his great exertions, should break out, and indiscriminate slaughter take place in defiance of his authority; and that therefore he would commit his prisoners to three guides who would conduct them safely to good quarters. This humane attention on the part of White was thankfully received. He immediately ordered three of his attendants to proceed with the prisoners, who moved off with celerity, anxious to get away lest the fury of White's corps, believed to be near at hand, might break out, much disposed as he himself was to restrain it.

White, with the soldier retained by him, repaired, as he announced to his guides and prisoners, to his troops for the purpose of proceeding in their rear.

He now employed himself in collecting the neighborhood militia, with whom he overtook his guides, their charge safe and happy in the good treatment experienced.

The extraordinary address of White was contrasted by the extraordinary folly of French; and both were necessary to produce this wonderful issue. The affair approaches too near the marvellous to have been admitted into these Memoirs, had it not been uniformly asserted, as uniformly accredited, and never contradicted.

Congress, undismayed by the gloom which the unexpected issue to the siege of Savannah had spread over the south, took immediate measures to reinforce Lincoln; and sir Henry Clinton, encouraged by his success, determined to press to completion its subjugation.

In pursuance of a resolution of Congress, the North

Carolina line was ordered to South Carolina; and solemn assurances were given of effectual support to the languishing resistance in the south.

Sir Henry Clinton having withdrawn the British garrison from Newport, thereby restoring the elastic patriotism of the state of Rhode Island to its wonted energy and freedom, and being reinforced from England, prepared a respectable detachment of chosen troops to be led by himself for the reduction of South Carolina. Waiting for the departure from the American coast of the French fleet, he was no sooner apprised of this event than he began the embarkation of his army; which being completed, admiral Arbuthnot, the British naval commander on the American station, took upon himself the direction of the escorting fleet, and sailed from Sandy Hook on the 26th of December.

The voyage was tempestuous and tardy; some of the transports were lost, and others taken; all the horses for the cavalry and artillery perished; and the fleet, being much crippled in its stormy passage, never reached the Tybee, its destined point, until the end of January. Here the damaged ships were repaired with all practicable haste; and the admiral put to sea, steering his course for North Edisto sound in South Carolina. The armament arrived there on the 10th of February; and the next day was employed in disembarking the army on John's Island.

Sir Henry Clinton was now on terra firma, within thirty miles of Charleston. He took immediate measures for advancing, but with the utmost circumspection, sacrificing much time in fortifying intermediate posts to hold safe his communication with the fleet. There are occasions and situations when such conduct is entitled to commendation, indeed when the omission would be highly reprehensible. But this was not the case now; no possible interruption was practicable on the part of Lincoln, whose regular force consisted of about two thousand men, including the North Carolina regulars, and four hundred Virginians, who had lately joined him under lieutenant colonel Heth. To these the militia of the town only is to be added; for that of the country was much indisposed to shut themselves up in a besieged fortress. The recollection of the repulse which himself and admiral Parker had sustained at this spot, in 1776, must have inspired sir Henry Clinton with more respectful considerations of the power of his enemy, and the strength of his defences, than accurate information would warrant. Determined to avoid a second rebuff, the general pursued, with unvarying pertinacity, the most cautious system.*

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* In the whole course of the American war, there seems to have been a systematic sacrifice of time by the British generals, excepting where lord Cornwallis commanded. I do not recollect any operations wherein the British resorted to forced marches. Washington, in 1776, was hurried through the Jerseys. Upon this occasion lord Cornwallis was the operating general; and we all remember how he pushed Morgan, and afterwards Greene, in the Carolinas. The delay of sir Henry Clinton in this short march of thirty miles is inexplicable, unless from habit, or from a wish to induce the American general to shut himself up in Charleston.

The necessary boats for the transportation of the army, passing along the interior navigation to Waapoocut, entered into Ashley river under the command of captain Elphinston. On the 29th of March the van of the British reached the banks of the river, having marched thirty miles since the 11th of February, and never meeting, during the whole period, with the smallest resistance, except in the solitary instance of a rencontre between lieutenant colonel Washington, commanding Baylor's diminished regiment of cavalry, and lieutenant colonel Tarleton; whose dragoons, having been remounted on horses procured by sir Henry Clinton since his landing, covered the left flank of a division advancing from Savannah. This first meeting terminated favorably for lieutenant colonel Washington, who in the sequel took a few prisoners; among whom was lieutenant colonel Hamilton of the royal regiment of North Carolina.

On the 30th sir Henry Clinton passed Ashley river before Charleston, and on the following day sat down in front of our works. On his march the van of the leading column was gallantly attacked by lieutenant colonel Laurens with a corps of light infantry; in which skirmish the earl of Caithness, aid-de-camp to sir Henry Clinton, was wounded. It is possible that the extraordinary delay, with which the movements of the British general were made, might have been intended with the double view of excluding the possibility of failure, and of seducing his enemy to continue in Charleston. If so, he succeeded completely in both objects. He certainly secured himself from insult; and his delay as certainly fixed the fate of the southern army, which never could have been inclosed in the untenable town, had not the sound mind of major general Lincoln been bent from its own resolve by the wishes of all the influential characters of the state, and by the confident expectation of adequate support; neither of which considerations would have influenced him but for the long lapse of time which intervened between the day of disembarkation, 11th of February, and the 30th of March, the day of beginning investiture.

At the bottom of the short and narrow isthmus, as has been observed, made by the rivers Ashley and Cooper, stands Charleston, the metropolis of South Carolina, and the emporium of the southern commerce. The rivers uniting south of the town make a convenient bay which glides by a slight current into the sea, assisting to form some handsome islands in its flow, and creating, by its resistance to the overbearing surge of the ocean, a bank of sand, emphatically called the Charleston Bar. On two of these islands, Sullivan's and James' defences had been erected in the beginning of the war: on the first, Fort Moultrie, on the last, Fort Johnston. In 1776 colonel Moultrie, by his intrepid resistance on Sullivan's Island, repulsed a formidable fleet and army, as had been before recited.

Estimating the defence of the approach from sea as momentous to the safety of South Carolina, congress had prepared a small squadron, under commodore

Whipple, to cooperate with the insular fortifications. United to those of the state our naval force, then in Charleston harbor, consisted of nine sail, the largest mounting forty-four guns. From the successful resistance made by colonel Moultrie in 1776, it was confidently, and with much reason, presumed that the difficulty of passing the bar, the cooperation of the squadron with the Forts Moultrie and Johnston, and the numerous batteries erected to protect the harbor, the British fleet would meet obstacles not easily to be surmounted. Fort Moultrie, with its appendages, was committed to lieutenant colonel Pinkney, fitted in heart and head to uphold its splendid fame.

Confiding in his defences by water, the American general bestowed his unremitted attention to strengthen and enlarge those on land. The two rivers which form Charleston neck, like all the rivers in that country, are lined on both shores with extensive swamps, deep in water and in mud, and impervious to the passage of troops. Profiting by these natural impediments, a canal at a proper distance in front was cut from swamp to swamp. Beyond the canal, strong deeply laid abbatis in two rows presented themselves, and were rendered more formidable by a double picketed ditch. Between this line of defence and the main works, holes dug in the ground were interspersed to break the order of advancing columns; strong redoubts and batteries skilfully constructed were erected to infilade the flanks; and in the centre was an inclosed horn work of masonry. The slow approach of the enemy, the active exertions of governor Rutledge invested by the general assembly with every power* but that of life and death, and the indefatigable efforts of major general Lincoln, had rendered our land defences respectable and imposing, when the enemy appeared in our front. On the 1st of April sir Henry Clinton began his first parallel at the distance of eight hundred yards; previous to which the fleet had taken its station off Charleston bar.

This natural obstacle had been uniformly regarded as presenting decided advantage to the besieged; and commodore Whipple, with his squadron, was therefore detached to Charleston, presuming that with his force he could successfully stop the enemy from passing the bar, inasmuch as their ships must be lightened, taking out their guns and other incumbrances, to enable them to float its water. Strange to tell, this uniformly accredited opinion was on the moment of trial found fallacious.†

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* The legislature passed an act "delegating to governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial. This is dealing out power with a profuse hand.

† A critical research into the various proceedings of congress and of the States, in making preparations of defence, evince a negligence in the ascertainment of facts, essential to the accurate execution of measures which excite surprise and regret. We have before seen that a British admiral first discovered that a small inlet between Mud Island and the Pennsylvania shore would admit ships with cannon, and that availing himself of this discovery,

It was discovered that our frigates could not approach near enough to oppose the passage of the bar with any kind of success; and we necessarily abandoned without a struggle this point of so much relied on defence. Commodore Whipple took a second station with his squadron in a range with Fort Moultrie, where it was confidently expected effectual opposition to the progress of the enemy's fleet could be made.

The British ships selected for this operation lay two weeks without the bar, deprived of their guns, waiting for wind and tide.

These being favorable on the 20th of March, a sixty-four, with some frigates, passed without injury of any sort. No sooner had this been effected but it was discerned that the obstructions in the channel were not of magnitude, and that no probability of successful resistance offered in our new station. The squadron was a second time ordered to retire; and having sunk most of our armed ships in the mouth of

discovery he forced us to abandon Mud Island, and thus probably saved the British army. We now see that it was reserved for the moment of trial to learn that the bar of Charleston was not defensible by our squadron, because the water within the bar was too shallow for our frigates. Would not due inquiry have ascertained these truths in due time, when the inlet so destructive to Mud Island might have been readily shut up by immovable obstructions, close as it was under the command of our fort, and when a naval force, fitted for the depth of water within the bar, might have been as readily prepared and sent to Charleston as was the useless squadron which, by the surrender of the town, became the property of the enemy.

Cooper's River to prevent the British admiral's holding that important pass, the crews and guns were landed and applied in the defence of the town, now relying for its safety, solely upon the strength of its fortifications and the valor of its garrison.

With a fair wind, on the 9th of April, the British admiral weighed, with the determination to pass Fort Moultrie.

This he readily accomplished, notwithstanding all the opposition which it was possible for colonel Pinkney to make. Not a ship was disabled; and only twenty-seven men killed and wounded. A convincing proof that unless the hostile fleet is stopped by obstructions in the channel difficult and tedious to remove, the fire of forts and batteries never can avail.* Having passed this our only remaining point of resistance, the British fleet anchored within the harbor out of reach of further offence. On the same day sir Henry Clinton finished his first parallel, when the British commanders demanded the surrender of the town. To this summons general Lincoln replied: " Sixty days have been past, since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which, time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity." This answer was no sooner received than the British batteries commenced the dire assault, which continued without intermission.

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* Was this the solitary instance within our own experience of the accuracy of this observation, the result so confidently relied upon might be doubted; but every attempt made by the naval force of the enemy during the war succeeded in like manner; and many such operations took place.

Experience every where proves the truth of the remark; and it ought to influence government in their preparation of water defences whenever they may be resorted to.

As the British were possessed of the harbor and of Charleston neck, only the pass across the Cooper river, and up its eastern bank, remained open to general Lincoln. A retreat was effectible, and ought in prudence to have been attempted as soon as the defence of the bar was discovered to be impracticable; being then omitted it ought now to have been attempted. For although it certainly had been rendered more hazardous than it was, before the enemy's fleet passed the bar, yet it was still practicable.* One difficulty of force only was attached to the attempt—discovery before the garrison had crossed the river and begun its march. This certainly might have been prevented by lining all the avenues to the enemy's posts with troops of approved fidelity. But this salutary plan was not adopted.

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* Our cavalry was now safe; and we had a small force of militia. All the horses in Charleston might have been conveyed across the river with saddles, bridles, and swords, which would have enabled Lincoln to have mounted some of his infantry, to act as dragoons, and thus given to the retreating army a decided superiority in that important force. At the same time it would have deprived the enemy of the means of transportation of stores, baggage, and munitions, without which, in adequate quantities, he would not have pursued any great distance. Gaining one march in this situation of things, Lincoln was safe; and this advantage was certain, if his caution and secrecy prevented discovery.

It does not seem *then* to have been even contemplated; for shortly before, brigadier general Woodford, with seven hundred of the Virginia line, detached from the main army by general Washington, entered the town. This would not have taken place had retreat been in view. Woodford would have been halted at Monk's Corner, where brigadier Hager,* of the South Carolina line, was posted with the cavalry, to preserve communication between the town and country. Indeed the loss of Charleston was a sad deranging blow to the south; the force of which was aggravated by the injudicious, though faithful, effort to preserve it. Not only the metropolis of the state, and the depot of its commerce, with a portion of that of its northern neighbor, but the unrivalled seat of southern beauty, taste, arts, sciences, and wealth, Charleston, from its foundation, had been the pride, the boast, and delight of the high spirited gentry, and gallant yeomanry of that country. And as if nature had stepped out of its ordinary course to give superiority to its advantages, it is the region of salubrity, and draws within its pale, in the season of summer, the sick to be cured, and the well to enjoy health, reversing the common order in Europe and America.*

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* In the sickly season (the summer and autumn) Charleston is resorted to, as with us and every where else on the two continents, are the upper country and its waters. This used to be the case; and I believe it still continues, with the exception of some who visit the northern states in the sultry season.

* Huger

Such a combination of influence was not to be resisted by the brave and amiable Lincoln,* especially when supported by the coincident wish of the grave fathers of the state, and encouraged by his reliance on assurances of adequate succor. It is to be regretted that the general's thorough knowledge of his own situation, of the enemy's strength and object, and of the imbecillity of government, had not induced him to adopt that plan of operations which would have upheld the commonweal should disappointments, which too often happened, follow the assurances received from congress. It was very certain that the possession of Charleston, only, was not the sole object of the hostile armament, but the conquest of that state, in the first place, and then of as many others as could be added to it. It was equally certain that the preservation of the country would soon regain the town, whereas the loss of the country would irretrievably fix the doom of the town. Nor could it be doubted that the salvation of the country depended on the timely evacuation of the town, as thus only the army would be preserved to arrest the enemy's advance. After this had been done, if the assurances made general Lincoln should be realized, the subjugation of the state became visionary, and the invader would abandon Charleston, which would have probably stopped the prosecution of the war. If the assurances should turn out illusory, as they did, the army safe, would have given a rallying point to our militia, and drawn together such a force as might have resisted the enemy effectually, whenever sir Henry Clinton returned to New York.* Those afflicting disasters which followed never could have taken place, heightened by the intestine divisions in the two Carolinas. The leading characters of the country never could have been shut up in Charleston, to be thence transported in captivity; and the people under the direction of their accustomed lights and guides, linked together by sameness of birth, of habit, of religion, and of law, never could have been thrown into those deadly feuds, engendering that sanguinary warfare, in some sections of the country, which, with the fury of pestilence, destroyed without discrimination.

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* The American general partakes in character more of Æneas, than of Hector.

Let this sad though faithful record of our own experience admonish the rulers of the nation, if in future vicissitudes of the ever changing scenes of human affairs, they should be called upon to act in a similar conjuncture; and let it impress on future generals, situated as was major general Lincoln, that the wiser course is that which promises to promote the common good, when the known impotence of the government renders the failure of its promises probable. Although this opportunity for retreat* was neglected, yet the governor and general concerted measures well calcu-

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* Sir Henry Clinton had left New York with a reduced force, and under a German general; admitting that he was safe from the intrusion of a French navy, as was probable, still he was not safe from general Washington, whose army never received its full annual strength sooner than July. Such was the dilatory progress, under our weak government. It therefore could not be doubted but that sir Henry Clinton would return, and that as soon as was practicable, after the fall of Charleston.

* [illegible]
[illegible]

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* In proof of the sad expectations which prevailed in Charleston about this time, I subjoin an intercepted letter, published by Mr. Stedman, whose history of the American war I have perused with great satisfaction, " From Mr. B. Smith to Mrs. Smith, dated Charleston, April 30."

Having never had an opportunity of writing to her since the enemy began to act with vigor, and knowing that a thousand evil reports will prevail to increase her uneasiness—" Mine I have supported pretty well until last night, when I really almost sunk under the load. Nothing remains around to comfort me but a probability of saving my life, after going through many difficulties. Our affairs are daily declining; and not a ray of hope remains to assure us of our success. The enemy have turned the siege into a blockade, which in a short time must have the desired effect; and the most sanguine do not now entertain the smallest hope of the town being saved. The enemy have continued their approaches with vigor continually, since I wrote the inclosed, and are now completing batteries about two hundred yards distance from our lines. They but seldom fire from their cannon; but their popping off rifles and small guns do frequent mischief, and every night throw an amazing number of shells amongst our people, which, at the lines, though not attended with the damage that might be reasonably expected, do some mischief. Our communication is entirely cut off from the country (excepting by a small pass at great risk) by lord Cornwallis, who occupies every landing place from Hadrell's point, a considerable way up the river, with two thousand and five hundred men. When I wrote last, it was the general opinion that we could evacuate the town at pleasure; but a considerable reinforcement having arrived to the enemy, has enabled them to strengthen their posts so effectually as to prevent that measure. The same cause prevents our receiving further supplies of provisions or reinforcements; and a lated to maintain the communication between the town and country. The governor, with a moiety of the executive counsel, left the town for the purpose of encouraging the collection of the militia, and of establishing a succession of posts, with supplies of provision, in case, at any future day, a retreat might be deemed proper, while the lieutenant governor, the aged and

short time will plant the British standard on our ramparts. You will see by the inclosed summons that the persons and properties of the inhabitants will be saved; and consequently I expect to have the liberty of soon returning to you; but the army must be made prisoners of war. This will give a rude shock to the independence of America: and a Lincolnade will be as common a term as a Burgoynade. But I hope in time we shall recover this severe blow. However, before this happens, I hope I shall be permitted to return home, where I must stay, as my situation will not permit me to take any further an active part; and therefore my abandoning my property will subject me to many inconveniences and losses, without being any way serviceable to the country. This letter will run great risk, as it will be surrounded on all sides; but as I know the person to whose care it is committed, and feel for your uneasy situation, I could not but trust it. Assure yourself that I shall shortly see you; as nothing prevents Lincoln's surrender but a point of honor of holding out to the last extremity. This is nearly at hand, as our provisions will soon fail; and my plan is to walk off as soon as I can obtain permission. Should your father be at home, make him acquainted with the purport of this letter, and remember me to him, also to your mother; but do not let the intelligence go out of the house. But a mortifying scene must first be encountered; the thirteen stripes will be levelled in the dust, and I owe my life to the clemency of the conqueror.

(Signed) B. SMITH.

respectable Mr. Gadsden, with the other moiety, continued in the town to encourage, by their presence, their fellow citizens, and to assist, by their authority, the military operations. Governor Rutledge formed two camps, one between the rivers Cooper and Santee, and the other on the Santee. But although clothed with dictatorial powers, and exerting these powers with unabating zeal, he was never able to collect a force in any degree respectable.

To be the principal, or to be the auxiliary, is very differently relished by man.

The militia, feeling their imperfections, can rarely be brought to act the first character, though willing, as they proved themselves, to assume the second.

To encourage the efforts of the governor, general Lincoln, inadequate as his garrison was, detached three hundred regulars, who, with the cavalry and the militia, it was confidently hoped might have held open the communication yet remaining, especially as portions of the promised reinforcements were daily expected; all of which would probably have been annexed to this incipient army.

Sir Henry Clinton, soon after the establishment upon John's Island, had drawn from Savannah one thousand and two hundred men, and sent orders to lieutenant general Knyphausen to reinforce him with three thousand more from New York. This succor was daily expected.

Proceeding without disturbance in his second parallel, and anxious to close the investiture of the town by extending his operations on the north of Cooper's River, he placed under lieutenant colonel Webster a corps of one thousand and five hundred men for the execution of this object. Webster found that the American cavalry still lay at Monk's Corner. To this point he devoted his attention: soon informed, as well of their strength and position as of their precautions, to guard against surprise, he determined to break up the post, and selected the night of the 14th April for his concerted enterprise. Taking some neglected by-paths, his van composed of Tarleton's legion, and Ferguson's riflemen, by avoiding the patroles, approached our videttes unperceived. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton drove at them with his habitual promptitude, and entered the camp with the videttes.

Although accoutred for action, yet so instantaneous was the assault, that the American cavalry were routed without resistance. Lieutenant colonel Washington, and most of the corps, saved themselves by their knowledge of the country, while the inhabitants suffered outrages shocking to relate.* All the extra horses, wagons, baggage, &c., fell into the hands of the enemy. The British and American statements differ as to our loss widely. By our account we lost only thirty dragoons besides the baggage of the corps. Mr. Stedman, to whom I have before recurred, places it much higher; and I have never been able to satisfy myself as to the real loss.* This successful exploit enabled lieutenant colonel Webster to establish a position on the Wando, thus securing all the country between that river and the Cooper. Lincoln learned with deep regret the disaster of our cavalry, and its direct consequence, the enemy's establishment on the Wando. He came to the resolution of striking at this post; but so weak was his garrison, that, by the advice of a council of war called upon the occasion, he relinquished his intention; and the post, fatal to his communication with the country, was left undisturbed, although held by only six hundred infantry and some cavalry. The reinforcement from New York arriving about this time, lord Cornwallis was appointed to undertake the investiture of the town on the north side of Cooper River, with considerable augmentation to the corps operating under Webster. Sir Henry Clinton had now completed his second parallel without interruption, Lincoln wisely determining to preserve his force undiminished by offensive efforts on his part, that he might be more able to meet a storm, or to make good his retreat.

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* "Some dragoons of the British legion attempted to ravish several ladies in the house of Dr. John Collington, in the neighborhood of Monk's Corner, where they were protected. A carriage being provided, they were escorted to the house of M——. The dragoons were apprehended and brought to Monk's Corner, where by this time colonel Webster had arrived and taken the command. The late colonel Patrick Ferguson, of whom we shall have to speak more hereafter, was for putting the dragoons to death. But colonel Webster did not conceive that his power extended to holding a general court martial. The prisoners were, however, sent to head quarters; and, I believe, were afterwards tried and whipped." Stedman.

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* "Forty-two wagons, one hundred and two wagon horses, and eighty-two dragoon horses, and several officer's horses; a quantity of ammunition, flour, butter, clothing, camp and horse equipage, harness for all the wagons, all the officer's clothing and baggage, together with five puncheons of rum, six hogsheads Muscovado sugar, four barrels indigo, a quantity of tea, coffee, spices, nails in casks, some French cloth, three barrels of gunpowder, swords, &c., found in a store, which was set on fire and blown up by the carelessness of a sentinel. The loss of the Americans in men was major Bernie of Pulaski's legion of dragoons, and three captains, one lieutenant, and two privates, killed; fifteen privates, one captain, and two lieutenants, taken prisoners, including the wounded. Major Bernie was mangled in the most shocking manner: he had several wounds, a severe one behind his ear. This unfortunate officer lived several hours, reprobating the Americans for their conduct on this occasion; and even in his last moments cursing the British for their barbarity, in having refused quarter after he had surrendered. The writer of this, who was ordered on the expedition, afforded every assistance in his power, and had the major put upon a table in a public house in the village, and a blanket thrown over him. The major, in his last moments, was frequently insulted by the privates of the legion." STEDMAN.

But seeing that a third parallel must bring the enemy upon his canal, and render further resistance chimerical, he determined to interrupt its prosecution. Lieutenant colonel Henderson, of the south Carolina line, commanded a night sortie: it was executed with honor to the commandant and his detachment; but so thoroughly stable were the enemy's advances, that it was ineffectual, and a repetition was never attempted.

Lord Cornwallis having, with his detachment, joined lieutenant colonel Webster, the retreat of the garrison became scarcely practicable, nevertheless such was the solicitude of the American general to save his army for the defence of the country, that he called a council of war to acertain, through their advice, the course to be pursued. No longer doubting of the fall of the town, the council recommended that an offer of surrender should be made on two conditions: viz, Safety to the persons and property of the inhabitants; and permission to the garrison to continue in arms. The first condition was that which every conqueror ought to grant with pleasure; the second, that which no conqueror can grant, unless situated very differently from the British commander. The proposition was rejected; and the besiegers pressed forward on their way to victory. The admiral prepared a detachment from his fleet under captain Hudson to attack Fort Moultrie, from which colonel Pinkney, and a greater part of the garrison, had been withdrawn soon after the fleet passed the fort. Why a single man should have been left, much as the lines before Charleston required additional force, seems inexplicable, especially after the evacuation of our small posts at Lempriere's Point, and on the Wando.*

The menace against Fort Moultrie produced surrender: the flag of that renowned post was now lowered; and the remnant garrison, about two hundred men, were made prisoners.

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* Lord Cornwallis had taken possession of Mount Pleasant, which produced the evacuation of Lempriere's and Wando posts.

It applied as precisely to the withdraw of the garrison from Fort Moultrie; as that post had never been fortified in this quarter, and was, of course, subject to approach without difficulty.

The American cavalry, after the surprise at Monk's Corner, withdrew to the north of the Santee for security, where lieutenant colonel White, of Moylan's regiment, took the command. This officer, discovering that lord Cornwallis extended his foraging parties to the southern banks of the river on which he was encamped, determined to interrupt the collection of his supplies. Prepared to execute this proper decision, upon the first notice of the enemy's approach, he passed the Santee, struck at the foe, broke up the forage excursion, captured most of the party, with which he retired to Lenew's Ferry upon the Santee, where he had ordered boats to meet him; and at the same time communicating his success to lieutenant colonel Bufort, who commanded a regiment of Virginia levies, stationed near the ferry, on the north side of the river, requiring his aid in the transportation of himself and prisoners to the opposite shore.

How it happened is not ascertained; but it did happen, that Bufort's cooperation, nor the boats ordered by White were felt or seen; and the successful lieutenant colonel, expecting instantly the means of conveyance, incautiously waited on the southern bank of the river instead of moving to some secret and strong position.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton was on his march to Lenew's Ferry with his cavalry; sent thither by the British general to procure intelligence; falling in with a royalist, he was informed of White's success, and instantly pressed forward to strike him. He came up

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

with our cavalry on the banks of the Santee, and repeated the catastrophe of Monk's Corner. The knowledge of the country was a second time beneficial to the fugitives: the swamps saved some, while others swam the river. Between thirty and forty only were killed and taken.

The evacuation of our small posts on Wando and Lempriere's Point, with the surrender of Fort Moultrie, and the second discomfiture of our cavalry, gave to the enemy uncontrolled possession of all the country between the Cooper and Santee Rivers, and extinguished the glimmering hopes that had been still entertained of the practicability of a retreat from the town.

Soon followed the completion of the third parallel, which placed the garrison at the mercy of the besiegers. Unwilling, from motives of humanity, to increase the hardships of the unfortunate, the British admiral and general a second time demanded surrender.

Lincoln now, from necessity, yielded up his army; but, still anxious to save the militia and inhabitants from captivity, he excepted them in his assenting answer, which exception being declared inadmissible, the negotiation ceased.

Reluctantly sir Henry Clinton renewed the contest by opening the batteries of the third parallel, and pushed his works under their fire to the brink of the canal, which by a sap to the dam was drained. This first barrier was now possessed by the enemy, and a double sap carried thence under the abbatis, within thirty steps of our work. For two days, the fire from the third parallel continued without intermission, and with great execution; and the sharp shooters were planted so close to our lines as to single out every man who exposed himself to view.

The enemy being prepared to strike the last blow, the orders for assault only remained to be given, when the inhabitants became assured that the concluding scene could not long be deferred, and though heretofore devoted to the defence of the town, now with one accord supplicated general Lincoln to relinquish the exception made in their favor, and to accept the terms proffered.*

The amiable Lincoln could not longer hesitate in stopping the effusion of blood. He communicated to sir Henry Clinton his readiness to lay down his arms upon the conditions before offered.

Highly honorable was the conduct of the British commanders. They did not press the unfortunate, but agreed that the terms before rejected should form the basis of capitulation, which being soon prepared, signed and ratified, Charleston was surrendered on the 12th, six days after the third parallel was finished.*

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* This change in temper and feelings of the people of Charleston belongs to man similarly situated all over the world; and therefore military commandants, in taking military measures, while they hear with patience and decorum, the desires of the inhabitants, ought never to regard them in the adoption of their plans or measures. General Lincoln no more ought to have been influenced by the remonstrances of the citizens of Charleston, when weighing in his mind the propriety of evacuation, than ought a tender father to regard the crying of his child on his administering a dose of physic to save its life.

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* Charleston, May 11, 1780.

SIR,

The same motives of humanity which inclined you to propose articles of capitulation to this garrison induced me to offer those I had the honor of sending you on the 8th instant. They then appeared to me such as I might proffer, and you receive, with honor to both parties. Your exceptions to them, as they principally concerned the militia and citizens, I then conceived were such as could not be concurred with; but a recent application from those people, wherein they express a willingness to comply with them, and a wish on my part to lessen, as much as may be, the distresses of war to individuals, lead me now to offer you my acceptance of them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) B. LINCOLN.

His excellency sir H. CLINTON.

Camp before Charleston, May 11, 1780.

SIR,

When you rejected the favorable terms which were dictated by an earnest desire to prevent the effusion of blood, and interposed articles that were wholly inadmissible, both the admiral and myself were of opinion, that the surrender of the town at discretion was the only condition that should afterwards be attended to; but as the motives which then induced them are still prevalent, I now inform you that the terms then offered will still be granted.

A copy of the articles shall be sent for your ratification as soon as they can be prepared; and immediately after they are exchanged, a detachment of grenadiers will be sent to take possession of the horn-work opposite your main gate. Every arrangement which may conduce to good order in occupying the town, shall be

The adverse generals, in their official despatches, speak in very approving terms of the zeal and gal-

be settled before noon to-morrow; and at that time your garrison will march out.

I have the honor to be, &c.
H. Clinton.

Major general Lincoln.

Articles of capitulation between their excellencies sir Henry Clinton, Mariot Arbuthnot, Esq., and major general Benjamin Lincoln.

Art. 1st. That all acts of hostility and work shall cease between the besiegers and the besieged, until the articles of capitulation shall be agreed on, signed, and executed, or collectively rejected.

Answer. All acts of hostility and work shall cease, until the articles of capitulation are finally agreed to or rejected.

Art. 2d. The town and fortifications shall be surrendered to the commander in chief of the British forces, such as they now stand.

Answer. The town and fortifications, with the shipping at the wharves, artillery, and all other public stores whatsoever, shall be surrendered in their present state to the commanders of the investing forces; proper officers shall attend from the respective departments to receive them.

Art. 3d. The continental troops and sailors, with their baggage, shall be conducted to a place to be agreed on, where they shall remain prisoners of war until exchanged. While prisoners, they shall be supplied with good and wholesome provisions in such quantity as is served out to the troops of his Britannic majesty.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 4th. The militia now in garrison shall be permitted to return to their respective homes, and be secured in their persons and property.

Answer. The militia now in garrison shall be permitted to return lantry with which they were respectively supported. The loss was by no means correspondent to the length

return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole; which parole, as long as they observe, shall secure them from being molested in their property by the British troops.

Art. 5th. The sick and wounded shall be continued under the care of their own surgeons, and be supplied with medicine and such necessaries as are allowed to the British hospitals.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 6th. The officers of the army and navy shall keep their horses, swords, pistols, and baggage, which shall not be searched, and retain their servants.

Answer. Granted, except with respect to the horses, which will not be allowed to go out of the town; but may be disposed of by a person left from each corps for that purpose.

Art. 7th. The garrison shall, at an hour appointed, march out with shouldered arms, drums beating, and colors flying, to a place to be agreed on, where they will pile their arms.

Answer. The whole garrison shall, at an hour to be appointed, march out of the town to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they will deposit their arms. The drums are not to beat a British march, or colors to be uncased.

Art. 8th. That the French consul, his house, papers, and other movable property, shall be protected and untouched, and a proper time granted to him for retiring to any place that may afterwards be agreed upon between him and the commander in chief of the British forces.

Answer. Agreed, with this restriction, that he is to consider himself as a prisoner on parole.

Art. 9. That the citizens shall be protected in their persons and properties.

Answer. All civil officers, and the citizens who have borne arms during the siege, must be prisoners on parole; and with respect to their property in the city, shall have the same terms

as

and obstinacy of the conflict, because of the safe and judicious system adopted by the besieger in his advances, and from the inadequacy of the garrison, which induced the besieged to husband with care his force,

as are granted to the militia: and all other persons now in the town, not to be described in this or other article, are, notwithstanding, understood to be prisoners on parole.

Art. 10th. That a twelve-month's time be allowed all such as do not choose to continue under the British government to dispose of their effects real and personal, in the state, without any molestation whatever; or to remove such part thereof as they choose, as well as themselves and families; and that, during that time, they or any of them may have it at their option to reside occasionally in town or country.

Answer. The discussion of this article of course cannot possibly be entered into at present.

Art. 11th. That the same protection to their persons and properties, and the same time for the removal of their effects, be given to the subjects of France and Spain, as are required for the citizens in the preceding article.

Answer. The subjects of France and Spain shall have the same terms as are granted to the French consul.

Art. 13th. That a vessel be permitted to go to Philadelphia with the general's despatches, which are not to be opened.

Answer. Granted; and a proper vessel with a flag will be provided for that purpose.

All public papers and records must be carefully preserved and faithfully delivered to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them.

Done in Charleston, May 12th, 1780.
B. Lincoln.

Done in camp before Charleston, May 12th, 1780.
Signed H. Clinton.
M. Arbuthnot.

in the hope that some propitious event might occur on the part of our ally, and force sir Henry Clinton to change his plan of operations, as had taken place with Lincoln himself before Savannah; and relying also upon the reiterated assurance of ample support from congress and the government of North and South Carolina.

The enemy lost seventy killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded: our loss, including militia and inhabitants, amounted to one hundred and two killed, and one hundred and fifty-seven wounded. Among the former was lieutenant colonel Richard Parker, of the first Virginia regiment. He was one of that illustrious band of youths who first flew to their country's standard when she was driven to unsheath the sword. Stout and intelligent, brave and enterprising, he had been advanced from the command of a company in the course of the war to the command of a regiment. Always beloved and respected, late in the siege he received a ball in the forehead, and fell dead in the trenches, embalmed in the tears of his faithful soldiers, and honored by the regret of the whole army.

The British official statement give a total of prisoners exceeding five thousand, including, no doubt, all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, it being certain that Lincoln's continental force did not reach to two thousand, exclusive of officers, when he surrendered. His effective militia, by his official return, amounted at the same time to five hundred men. In addition we lost, by the British account, one thousand seamen, American and French, with four hundred pieces of ordnance, abundant magazines of military and naval stores, and all the shipping in the harbor.* The loss of men, stores, &c., though somewhat exaggerated, was a severe blow upon the United States, and excited very gloomy sensations throughout America. The error of risking a country to save a town which only can be retained by the reduction of the country, was now perceived with all its pernicious consequences.

Nevertheless, so well established was the spotless reputation of the vanquished general that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of congress, of the army, and of the commander in chief.

During the winter the king of Spain had been accepted as mediator by the king of England and his most christian majesty, with the ostensible and laudable view of putting a stop to the ravages and waste of war.

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* Return of the ships and vessels taken and destroyed in the siege of Charleston. The Bricole, pierced for sixty, mounting forty-four guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders, her captain, officers and company, prisoners. Queen of France, twenty-eight nine pounders, sunk, her captain and company prisoners. Notre Dame, brig, sixteen guns, sunk, captain and company prisoners. Providence, thirty-two eighteen and twelve pounders, taken, captain and company prisoners. Ranger, twenty six pounders, taken, crew prisoners.

French ships. L'Aventure, twenty-six nine and six pounders, captain and crew prisoners. Polacre, sixteen six pounders, captain and crew prisoners. Some empty brigs, and other smaller vessels, lying at the wharves, taken, with four row-galleys.

The negotiation terminated unsuccessfully; and the mediating power united with France in the contest. Timely communication of the resolution of the Spanish court was sent to Don Gulves, the governor of New Orleans. Availing himself of the information, he collected a military force, and falling upon the unprepared British settlements on the Mississippi, annexed them to the government of Spain. Soon after his return to New Orleans, Don Gulves made arrangements for the reduction of West Florida. In the month of January he embarked two thousand men on board of transports under convoy of a small squadron, and sailed for the bay of Mobile.

Unluckily he encountered a storm in his voyage, and suffered severely. Several of the vessels foundered; many of the troops perished; and most of his stores were lost. With the remainder he at length entered the bay of Mobile. Here he established himself, and waited for a supply of men and stores from New Orleans. These having reached him, he stood up the bay, and on the 25th of February landed in the vicinity of the town of Mobile, where the English had erected a stockade fort, then garrisoned by one company of regulars. Don Gulves, pursuing the cautious system exemplified by sir Henry Clinton before Charleston, beset this little stockade with regular approaches, laboring at them incessantly until the middle of March, when opening a battery of heavy cannon he demolished it in twelve hours. The garrison surrendered by capitulation. Had the dilatoriness of the Spanish operations consumed a few days more, Don Gulves would have been compelled to relinquish his enterprise, as general Campbell, pressing forward by forced marches with a body of troops from St. Augustine, approached the neighborhood of Mobile soon after it surrendered. This incursion gratified the feelings of the defenders of the southern States, as it cherished the expectation that the invasion of the two Floridas already begun would be prosecuted, and consequently would employ some of the enemy's troops, thus diminishing the force against which they had to contend.

CHAPTER XVI.

WE have seen that for the two years subsequent to the conclusion of our treaty with France, in pursuance of the plan adopted by Louis XVI, a French fleet had annually visited our coast. Although heretofore disappointed in the expected benefits of extending naval cooperation to our army, it could not be doubted, but that the same wise course would be pursued this summer, especially as now, the fleet of Spain was added to that of France. Sir Henry Clinton, aware of this probable event, hastened the completion of his measures for the security of his conquests. Solicitous to avoid that interruption to his return to New York, which delay might interpose, he wisely determined to pursue in his arrangements the dictates of clemency and of justice, the only possible way to secure the submission of freemen. He published a manifesto calling to the recollection of the inhabitants, his avoidance heretofore of urging their interference in the contest, because he was unwilling to involve them in hazard so long as the issue was in suspense. That the state of things being completely changed, not only by the surrender of Charleston, but by the destruction or capture of the various armed corps in the country, it was time that the friends of peace and of the royal government should boldly come forth and contribute by their assistance to the restoration of order and tranquillity. He proposed that the militia with families should arm for the security of the province, while the youth should imbody to serve six months with the army, enjoying the privilege of acting only in the Carolinas and Georgia, assuring to them the same treatment and compensation as was allowed to the regulars, and permitting them to elect their own officers, with an immunity from all further military duty after the expiration of six months, excepting the ordinary militia duty at home. To men disposed to continue upon their farms, and to obey the existing powers, the proffered conditions could not be unacceptable. But to those in whose generous breasts were deeply planted the love of country, and the love of liberty, accordance with the proposition was not to be expected: they would abandon their homes, and unite with the defenders of their country whenever called upon. They of course fled the state, determined never to arm against a cause which they believed to be the cause of right.

On the 22d of May the general issued his proclamation, cherishing, by assurances of protection and support, the king's peaceful subjects, and menacing all who should hereafter be found in arms, or detected in any resistance or combination to resist the lawful authority with the confiscation of property, and condign corporal punishment. In nine days after, another proclamation appeared from the general and admiral as joint commissioners for restoring peace, promising a full and free pardon to all who should forthwith return to their allegiance, excepting those who in the mock forms of justice had shed the blood of their fellow citizens for their loyalty to their king; and pledging the restoration of the blessings of legal government as soon as the state of things would permit, with exemption from the payment of taxes not imposed by their own assembly. The consequence of these measures was favorable to British views: the greater part of the inhabitants manifested a disposition to comply with the requisites enjoined; some armed in support of the royal government, while a few abandoned the country, determined if they fought on either side it should be on that of America.

1780. May.

While sir Henry Clinton was engaged in these arrangements lord Cornwallis had advanced towards the frontiers with a part of the force which was to remain under his command for the security and extension of the recent conquest. Formed into three divisions after reaching Dorchester, each division took the rout to the destined object: the first, under lieutenant colonel Brown, moved up the Savannah to Augusta; while the second, led by lieutenant colonel Balfour, passed along the southern banks of the Wateree to Ninety-six; and the third, directed by his lordship, advanced towards Cambden, to which place it was understood lieutenant colonel Buford, commanding the remnant of the continental force in the south had retired after hearing of the fall of Charleston. Neither of these divisions experienced the slightest resistance.

Augusta, Ninety-six, and Cambden, were possessed, fortified and garrisoned; all the intermediate country was submissive; and protestations of loyalty resounded in every quarter. Cornwallis had no sooner passed the Santee than he became informed of lieutenant colonel Buford's relinquishment of Cambden and precipitate march to North Carolina. Despairing himself to overtake this detachment, he determined on a pursuit with his cavalry, strengthened by one hundred mounted infantry. This detachment was intrusted to lieutenant colonel Tarleton, an officer rising fast in military reputation. More distinguished for courage and activity than for management and address, his mode of operation was to overtake and fight. Entering without delay upon his expedition, he pressed forward with his usual zeal and celerity, though not so expeditiously as his anxious mind suggested to be necessary. Leaving his mounted infantry to follow, he advanced at the head of his cavalry with quickened pace, and marching one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, a rapid movement for his inferior horse, he approached Buford on his march in the friendly settlement of the Waxhaws on the 29th. This officer immediately offered to surrender upon the terms granted to the garrison of Charleston; and why the British commandant rejected the proffered submission is inexplicable. The detachment would have been prisoners of war; and the barbarous scene which ensued to the disgrace of the victor, dimming the splendor of all his exploits, would not have taken place. The moment the negotiation ceased, Tarleton charged the still unprepared foe. Wounds and death, with some partial resistance, followed; and many of our soldiers fell under the British sabre requesting quarters. The unrelenting conqueror shut his ears to the voice of supplication, as he had steeled his heart against the claims of mercy. By the official report, one hundred and thirteen were killed, one hundred and fifty so badly wounded as to be paroled on the ground, most of whom died; and fifty-three prisoners being capable of moving, graced the entry of the sanguinary corps into Cambden; at which place lord Cornwallis had arrived.* Lieutenant colonel Tarleton excused this butchery by asserting that after their submission, some of the Americans re-seized their arms and fired upon his troops. Admit the fact, though it is denied, some correction ought to have been inflicted on the guilty; but the dreadful sacrifice which took place was unjustifiable. In the annals of our Indian war nothing is to be found more shocking; and this bloody day only wanted the war dance, and the roasting fire, to have placed it first in the records of torture and of death in the west.

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* How lord Cornwallis could encourage such barbarity, by omitting to punish the perpetrator, has never been satisfactorily explained. It tended to diminish the respect entertained for his lordship's character in the camp of his enemy, which had been invariably admired for that happy mixture of goodness as a man, with greatness as a soldier, heretofore strongly exemplified by his conduct. For my own part I am persuaded that the commanding officer is as much bound by the obligations of his station to punish the cruel, as the deserting soldier; and it is to be lamented, whenever he intentionally fails to do it, that he is not himself punished by his sovereign.

This tragic exhibition sunk deep in the American breast, and produced the unanimous decision among the troops, to revenge their murdered comrades whenever the blood-stained corps should give an opportunity. This happened soon after at the Cowpens; but lieutenant colonel Washington, who commanded the horse on that day with so much glory, while he pushed the just claims of vengeance, preserved his laurels pure and spotless.

Turning from this ire-exciting occurrence, let us search for the causes of our calamity. A small party of the saved American cavalry was with Buford; and had it been properly marched in his rear by half sections, in sight of each other, admitting the enemy's horse to have been the swifter, which is not probable, still the nearest sections would have been safe, should those in the rear have been overtaken; and the American commandant, thus advised of the enemy's approach, he could have prepared for his defence. This it seems never occurred to the retreating officer; or, if it did occur, was neglected. To this want of precaution lieutenant colonel Buford added evidently much indecision, always fatal in the hour of danger. His soldiers were levies, mostly new troops; but his officers were generally experienced, and many of them equal to any in our army. If Buford had prepared for battle instead of sending in a flag, or even had so done while the negotiation was going on, Tarleton must have been foiled. The road was lined on both sides with woods; and the wagons, if placed in front and rear, filled in the body, under the body, and along the wheels, with as many men as could conveniently use their arms, would have afforded an obstruction sufficient to check effectually any charge made in the road. The main body disposed in the woods on each side the road, with an adequate interval for its movements, between the front and the rear obstruction of wagons, would have given to the infantry an advantage which must have secured victory. There was, too, a considerable disparity of force in our favor. Tarleton had but one hundred and seventy dragoons, his mounted infantry far in the rear, while our force exceeded four hundred, including our small party of dragoons. Had Buford, thus posted, deemed it dangerous to continue in his position until night, least his antagonist should be reinforced, he might safely have moved in the order suggested; and the moment night had overspread the earth, his retreat would have been secured; for light is indispensable to the effectual operation of cavalry. Before the break of day he might have reached Charlotte, where he was sure of affectionate and gallant assistance from its patriotic inhabitants; and where, too, he had reason to expect to find lieutenant colonel Porterfield, an officer of zeal and talents, who had marched from Virginia in the latter end of April, with a corps of horse, foot and artillery, amounting to four hundred men. But nothing of this sort was essayed, and our countrymen were wantonly slaughtered by an inferior foe. Lieutenant colonel Buford, with the horse, escaped, as did about eighty or ninety of our infantry, who fortunately being advanced, saved themselves by flight.

The calm which succeeded the sweeping success of the enemy from his debarkation continued uninterrupted; and Cornwallis, shortly after Buford's defeat, advanced a corps of light infantry to the Waxhaw settlement, inhabited by citizens whose love of country remained unshaken even by these shocks.

This settlement is so called from the Waxhaw creek, which passes through it, and empties itself into the Catawba. Brigadier Rutherford, of North Carolina, hearing of the advance of this corps, assembled eight hundred of the militia with a determination to protect the country. His troops can scarcely be said to have been armed; they generally had fowling pieces instead of muskets and bayonet, pewter instead of lead, with a very trifling supply of powder. Information of this assemblage being sent to Cambden, the British detachment was recalled, and this valued settlement, rich in soil, and abounding in produce, was for this time happily released. The repose which the district enjoyed, in consequence of the abandonment of the station at the Waxhaws, was of short duration. So ardent was the zeal of the disaffected, and so persuaded were they that rebellion in the south was crushed, that their desire to manifest their loyalty could not be repressed.

A large body of loyalists collected under colonel Moore at Armsaour's mill on the 22d of June; among whom were many who had not only taken the oath of allegiance to the state, but had served in arms against the British army. Rutherford lost no time in taking his measures to bring Moore to submission. But so destitute was he of ammunition that only three hundred men could be prepared for the field. This detachment was intrusted to colonel Locke, who was ordered to approach the enemy and watch his motions, while Rutherford continued to exert himself in procuring arms for the main body to follow under his own direction.

Moore, finding an inferior force near to him, determined to attack it, in which decision he was gallantly anticipated by Locke, who, perceiving the enemy's purpose, and knowing the hazard of retreat, fell upon Moore in his camp. Captain Falls, with the horse, led, and rushing suddenly, sword in hand, into the midst of the insurgents, threw them into confusion, which advantage Locke pressed forward to improve, when he suspended the falling blow in consequence of colonel Moore proposing a truce for an hour with the view of amicable adjustment. During the negotiation, Moore and his associates dispersed, which appears to have been their sole object in proposing the suspension of hostilities.

The cheering intelligence of the unmolested advance of the three detachments to Augusta, Ninety-six, and Cambden, the establishment of submission and professions of loyalty, which were every where proffered by the inhabitants, crowned by the destruction of Buford, extirpating all continental resistance, confirmed the long indulged persuasion in the breast of sir Henry Clinton, that he had reannexed Georgia and South Carolina to the British empire. He now determined, as his final act, to bolt doubly his conquest. On the 3d of June he issued his last proclamation, undoing of his own accord a very important condition established in his first, without consulting, much less receiving, the assent of the party who had accepted the terms proffered therein. He declared to the inhabitants who had, in pursuance of his pledged faith, taken parole, that with the exception of the militia, surrendered at Charleston, such paroles were not binding after the 20th of the month, and that persons so situated should be considered as liege subjects, and thenceforward be entitled to all the rights, and subjected to all the duties of this new state; not forgetting to denounce the pains and penalties of rebellion against those who should withhold due allegiance to the royal government. This arbitrary change of an understood contract affected deeply, and afflicted sorely, all to whom it applied; and it was in the consequence, as its injustice merited, fatal to the bright prospect so gratifying to the British general. It demonstrated unequivocally that the hoped for state of neutrality was illusory, and that every man capable of bearing arms, must use them in aid or in opposition to the country of his birth. In the choice to be made, no hesitation existed in the great mass of the people; for our country was the general acclaim. The power of the enemy smothered for a while this kindling spirit; but the mine was prepared; the train was laid; and nothing remained, but to apply the match to produce the explosion. Sir Henry Clinton, having secured the conquered state, as he fondly believed, embarked on the 6th with the greater part of his army for New York, leaving lord Cornwallis with four thousand regulars to prosecute the reduction of the southern states. Succeeding Clinton in his civil, as well as military, powers, his lordship was called from the field for the purpose of establishing the many arrangements which the altered condition of the state required. Commercial regulations became necessary, and a system of police for the government of the interior was indispensable.

Previous to his departure from Cambden, he had advanced a body of Highlanders under major M'Arthur to Cheraw Hill, on the Pedee, for the purpose of preserving in submission the country between that river and the Santee, and for communicating readily with his friends in North Carolina, especially with the Highland settlement at Cross Creek. Through the agency of major M'Arthur a regular correspondence was established with the loyalists: they were advised of his lordship's determination as soon as the approaching harvest furnished the means of subsistence, to advance with his army into North Carolina, when he should count upon their active assistance, and in the meanwhile they were exhorted to continue passive under the evils to which they were exposed. At the same time recruiting officers were employed in South Carolina and Georgia, by whose exertions the provincial regiments were considerably augmented. These preliminary measures for the invasion of North Carolina being in execution, his lordship repaired to Charleston, leaving lord Rawdon in command of the army. Meanwhile major Davie returned to the county of Mecklenburgh as soon as he recovered from the wounds received in the attack of Stono, and assembling some of his faithful associates of that district, took the field.

Hovering near the British posts, he became acquainted with the intended movement of a convoy, with various supplies, from Cambden, to the enemy's post of Hanging Rock, which, amounting only to a small company of infantry, was within the power of Davie's force. He made a rapid and long march in the night, and having eluded the hostile patroles, gained the route of the convoy five miles below Hanging Rock before the break of day. Here he halted in a concealed position. In a few hours the convoy appeared, and Davie, falling vigorously upon it, instantly overpowered its escort. The wagons and stores were destroyed; the prisoners, forty in number, were mounted on the wagon horses, and escorted by the major, were safely brought within our lines.

About the same time, captain Huck, of Tarleton's legion, had been detached by lieutenant colonel Turnbull, commanding at Hanging Rock, to disperse some of the exiles of South Carolina, who had lately returned to the state, and were collecting in the neighborhood of that place to assist in protecting their country. The captain, with forty dragoons, twenty mounted infantry, and sixty militia, ventured thirty miles up the country, where the very exiles he was ordered to disperse, attacked and destroyed his detachment. The captain, notorious for his cruelties and violence, was killed, as were several others, and the rest dispersed.

These breezes of fortune fanned the dying embers of opposition.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE southern war, from its commencement, had been peculiarly disastrous to the United States. Army after army had been defeated, detachments cut off, posts carried; and at length two states were reannexed to the mother country, and the conquering army ready to invade a third. This alarming conjuncture necessarily engaged the ardent attention of congress and the commander in chief. Virginia and North Carolina were again called upon to hasten reinforcements from their respective militia to the south; the Maryland and Delaware lines, under the orders of major general Baron de Kalb, were put in motion for North Carolina; and the conqueror at Saratoga was called from his retreat in Virginia, and charged to display the stars of America in the south.

The annunciation of these preparations reanimated the patriots of Carolina and Georgia; and the smothered discontents growing out of the despotic change, dictated by sir Henry Clinton's last proclamation, with the visitations daily experienced from an insolent licentious soldiery, began to burst forth. Lord Rawdon drew in M'Arthur from the Cheraw Hill, and broke up most of his small posts, dispersed throughout the country, concentrating the British in the positions of

Augusta, Ninety-six, and Cambden. Previous to this measure, the disaffected of North Carolina forgetting the salutary caution of lord Cornwallis, and sore under the necessary vigilance of the state government, had imbodied with the determination to force their way to the British camp. This ill-advised insurrection was speedily crushed, as we have seen in the case of colonel Moore; but colonel Bryan had the address to keep together eight hundred of his followers, and to conduct them safely to the post at Cheraw Hill, although actively pursued by general Rutherford. Faithful adherents to the royal cause they were formed into a military corps under their leader, and incorporated with the British troops. Meanwhile, the progress of Baron de Kalb was much retarded by the necessity he was under of procuring subsistence by his own exertions. He at length reached Hillsborough in North Carolina, where he halted until the preparations for his further advance were consummated. The militia of this state, being imbodied under general Caswell, were prepared to join the Baron on his route; while brigadier general Stevens, with some militia from Virginia, was hastening to the appointed rendezvous. Caswell and Stevens were selected in consequence of past services. The first had, early in the war, given unquestionable proofs of his decision, zeal and activity, by the gallant stand he made, in 1776, at Moore's Bridge against a superior force, which terminated in the complete discomfiture of the royalists, and the consequent suppression of a formidable insurrection. The second had commanded a continental regiment, during the campaigns of 1777 and 1778: he fought under Washington in all the battles of those years, very much respected as a brave, vigorous, and judicious officer. The baron de Kalb, leaving Hillsborough, had reached a deep river, where he was overtaken on the 25th of July by general Gates, who was hailed to the command of the army with universal gratulations. The continental force did not exceed one thousand and five hundred men, including Armand's dragoons and three companies of Harrison's regiment of artillery. The militia of Virginia and North Carolina had not yet reached head quarters; and lieutenant colonel Porterfield continued on the confines of South Carolina with a detachment of four hundred men. White and Washington, after the fall of Charleston, had retired to North Carolina with a view of recruiting their regiments of cavalry (Moylan's and Baylor's originally) which had so severely suffered at Monk's Corner, and at Linier's Ferry; and they solicited general Gates to invigorate their efforts by the aid of his authority, so as to enable them to advance with him to the theatre of action. Gates paid no attention to this proper request, and thus deprived himself of the most operative corps belonging to the southern army. Although unfortunate, these regiments had displayed undaunted courage, and had been taught in the school of adversity that knowledge which actual service only can bestow. It is probable that this injurious indifference on the part of the American commander, resulted from his recurrence to the campaign of 1777, when a British army surrendered to him unaided by cavalry; leading him to conclude, that Armand's corps, already with him, gave an adequate portion of this species of force. Fatal mistake! It is not improbable that the closeness and ruggedness of the country, in which he had been so triumphant, did render the aid of horse less material; but the moment he threw his eyes upon the plains of the Carolinas, the moment he saw their dispersed settlements, adding difficulty to difficulty in the procurement of intelligence and provisions; knowing too, as he did, that the enemy had not only a respectable body of dragoons, but that it had been used without intermission, and with much effect; it would seem that a discriminating mind must have been led to acquiesce in the wish suggested by the two officers of horse.

To the neglect of this salutary proposition, may with reason, be attributed the heavy disaster soon after experienced. In no country in the world are the services of cavalry more to be desired than in that which was then committed to the care of major general Gates; and how it was possible for an officer of his experience to have been regardless of this powerful auxiliary, remains inexplicable. Calculating proudly on the weight of his name, he appears to have slighted the prerequisites to victory, and to have hurried on to the field of battle with the impetuosity of youth; a memorable instance of the certain destruction which awaits the soldier who does not know how to estimate prosperity. If good fortune begets presumption instead of increasing circumspection and diligence, it is the due precursor of deep and bitter adversity.

General Gates, behind the broken and gallant remains of our cavalry, quickly put his army in motion, taking the direct road to the enemy which led through a steril and thinly settled country. The baron de Kalb had prudently fixed upon a route more to the right, which, though longer, passed through well improved settlements, yielding in abundance wholesome provisions for the troops. The extreme want, to which the army was exposed by this singular decision of general Gates, was productive of serious ills. The troops substituting green corn and unripe fruit for bread, disease ensued; which, in its effect, reduced considerably our force. The horses, destitute of forage, were unable to support those sudden persevering marches, so often necessary in war. The strength and spirits of the army became enfeebled and low, when true policy required they should have been braced to the highest pitch, inasmuch as not many days could intervene before it would approach the enemy, always ready for battle, and now urged to seek it by the most cogent considerations.

The advance of Gates to South Carolina roused into action all the latent energies of the state. The most resolute of the militia, indignant at the treatment they had received, and convinced by sir Henry Clinton's proclamation, which had been faithfully acted upon by lord Cornwallis, that repose during the war was a chimerical expectation, determined to become open from concealed enemies. In the country between Pedee and Santee the spirit of revolt manifested itself by an overt act. Major M'Arthur, when retiring from Cheraw Hill, had availed himself of the river to transport his sick to Georgetown: at which place had been established a small British post. Colonel Mills, with a party of militia, formed the escort for the sick. As soon as the boats had reached a proper distance from M'Arthur, the militia rose upon their colonel, who, with difficulty, escaped, made prisoners of the sick, and conveyed them safely into North Carolina.

In the district lying between Cambden and Ninety-six, the like determination of the inhabitants to turn upon their invader was exhibited. A lieutenant colonel Lyle, who, in pursuance of sir Henry Clinton's proclamation, had exchanged his parole for a certificate of his being a liege subject, led a great portion of the regiment to which he belonged, with their arms and accoutrements, to the frontiers; where they joined their countrymen now assembling to unite their efforts in support of the American army, advancing under Gates. These unexpected symptoms of a general rising of the people did not a little embarrass the British general, who wisely determined to seek battle without delay; not doubting but that the most effectual remedy for the growing disorders would be the destruction of that force on whose prowess these bold adventurers grounded their hope of ultimate success.

Upon the fall of Charleston, many of the leading men of the state of South Carolina sought personal safety with their adherents, in the adjoining states. Delighted at the present prospect, these faithful and brave citizens hastened back to their country to share in the perils and toils of war.

Among them were Francis Marion and Thomas Sumpter; both colonels in the South Carolina line, and both promoted by governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier general in the militia of the state. Marion was about forty-eight years of age, small in stature, hard in visage, healthy, abstemious and taciturn. Enthusiastically wedded to the cause of liberty, he deeply deplored the doleful condition of his beloved country. The commonweal was his sole object; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary, soiled his ermin character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived; and retiring to those hidden retreats, selected by himself, in the morasses of Pedee and Black River, he placed his corps not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends.* A rigid disciplinarian, he reduced to practice the justice of his heart; and during the difficult course of warfare, through which he passed, calumny itself never charged him with violating the rights of person, property, or of humanity. Never avoiding danger, he never rashly sought it; and acting for all around him as he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only when it was necessary. Never elated with prosperity, nor depressed by adversity, he preserved an equanimity which won the admiration of his friends, and exacted the respect of his enemies. The country from Cambden to the sea-coast between the Pedee and Santee rivers, was the theatre of his exertions.

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* Lieutenant colonel Lee was ordered to join Marion after Greene determined to turn the war back to South Carolina in 1781. An officer, with a small party, preceded Lee a few days march to find out Marion, who was known to vary his position in the swamps of Pedee: sometimes in South Carolina, sometimes in North Carolina, and sometimes on the Black River. With the greatest difficulty did this officer learn how to communicate with the brigadier; and that by the accident of hearing among our friends on the north side of the Pedee, of a small provision party of Marion's being on the same side of the river. Making himself known to this party, he was conveyed to the general, who had changed his ground since his party left him, which occasioned many hours' search even before his own men could find him.

Sumpter was younger than Marion, larger in frame, better fitted in strength of body to the toils of war, and, like his compeer, devoted to the freedom of his country. His aspect was manly and stern, denoting insuperable firmness and lofty courage. He was not over scrupulous as a soldier in his use of means, and apt to make considerable allowances for a state of war. Believing it warranted by the necessity of the case, he did not occupy his mind with critical examinations of the equity of his measures, or of their bearings on individuals; but indiscriminately pressed forward to his end—the destruction of his enemy and liberation of his country. In his military character he resembled Ajax; relying more upon the fierceness of his courage than upon the results of unrelaxing vigilance and nicely adjusted combination. Determined to deserve success, he risked his own life and the lives of his associates without reserve. Enchanted with the splendor of victory, he would wade in torrents of blood to attain it. This general drew about him the hardy sons of the upper and middle grounds; brave and determined like himself, familiar with difficulty, and fearless of danger. He traversed the region between Cambden and Ninety-six.

A third gentleman quickly followed their great example. Andrew Pickens, younger than either of them, inexperienced in war, with a sound head, a virtuous heart, and a daring spirit, joined in the noble resolve to burst the chains of bondage riveted upon the two southern states, and soon proved himself worthy of being ranked with his illustrious precursors. This gentleman was also promoted by the governor to the station of brigadier general; and having assembled his associates of the same bold and hardy cast, distinguished himself and corps in the progress of the war by the patience and cheerfulness with which every privation was borne, and the gallantry with which every danger was confronted. The country between Ninety-six and Augusta received his chief attention. These leaders were always engaged in breaking up the smaller posts and the intermediate communications, or in repairing losses sustained by action. The troops which followed their fortunes, on their own or their friends' horses, were armed with rifles; in the use of which they had become expert; a small portion only who acted as cavalry, being provided with sabres. When they approached the enemy they dismounted, leaving their horses in some hidden spot to the care of a few of their comrades. Victorious or vanquished, they flew to their horses, and thus improved victory or secured retreat.

Their marches were long and toilsome, seldom feeding more than once a day. Their combats were like those of the Parthians, sudden and fierce; their decisions speedy, and all subsequent measures equally prompt. With alternate fortunes they persevered to the last, and greatly contributed to that success, which was the first object of their efforts.

With Marion on his right and Sumpter on his left, and general Gates approaching in front, Rawdon discerning the critical event at hand, took his measures accordingly.

He not only called in his outposts, but drew from the garrison of Ninety-six four companies of light infantry, and made known to lord Cornwallis the menacing attitude of his enemy.

Sumpter commenced his inroads upon the British territory by assaulting, on the first of August, the post of Rocky Mount, in the charge of lieutenant colonel Turnbull, with a small garrison of one hundred and fifty of the New York volunteers and some South Carolina militia. The brigadier, attended by the colonels Lacy, Erwine, and Neale, having each collected some of their militia, repaired, on the 30th of July, to major Davie; who still continued near the enemy, and was now encamped on the north of the Waxhaw's creek, for the purpose of concerting a joint assault upon some of the British outposts. They were led to hasten the execution of this step, fearing that, by delay, their associates might disperse without having effected any good. After due deliberation they came to the resolution of carrying the posts of Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock in succession. The first of these is situated on the west side of the Catawba, thirty miles from Cambden, and the last was established on the east side of the same river, twenty-four miles from Cambden. They are distant from each other twelve miles.

Sumpter, having under him the three colonels, advanced with the main body upon Rocky Mount. While major Davie, with his corps and a part of the Mecklenburgh militia, under colonel Heaggins, marched to Hanging Rock to watch the motions of the garrison, to procure exact intelligence of the condition of the post, and to be ready to unite with Sumpter in the intended blow.

Rocky Mount station is fixed on the comb of a lofty eminence, encircled by open wood. This summit was surrounded with a small ditch and abbatis; in the centre whereof were erected three log buildings, constructed to protect the garrison in battle, and perforated with loop holes for the annoyance of the assailants.

As Davie got near to Hanging Rock he learned that three companies of Bryan's loyalists, part of the garrison, were just returning from an excursion, and had halted at a neighboring farm house. He drew off, determined to fall upon this party. This was handsomely executed, and completely succeeded. Eluding the sentinels in one quarter with his infantry, and gaining the other point of attack with his horse undiscovered, by marching through some adjoining woods, he placed the enemy between these two divisions, each of which pressed gallantly into action.

The loyalists, finding their front and rear occupied, attempted to escape in a direction, believed to be open, but were disappointed; the major having detached thither a party of his dragoons in time to meet them. They were all, except a few, killed and wounded; and the spoils of victory were safely brought off, consisting of sixty horses with their trappings, and one hundred muskets and rifles.

The brigadier approached Rocky Mount with his characteristic impetuosity; but the British officer was found on his guard, and defended himself ably. Three times did Sumpter attempt to carry it; but being always foiled, having no artillery to batter down the houses, he drew off undisturbed by the garrison, having lost a few of his detachment, with colonel Neale, an active, determined, influential officer, and retired to his frontier position on the Catawba. Here he rested no longer than was necessary to recruit his corps, refresh his horses, and provide a part of the provisions necessary to support him on his next excursion. Quitting his retreat with his brave associates, Davie, Irvine, Hill, and Lacy, he darted upon the British line of communication, and fell on the post at Hanging Rock, (6th of August) which was held by major Carden with five hundred men, consisting of one hundred and sixty of the infantry of Tarleton's legion, a part of colonel Brown's regiment, and Bryan's North Carolina corps, a portion of which had, a few days before, been cut to pieces by major Davie. His attack was, through the error of his guides, pointed at the corps of Bryan, which, being surprised, soon yielded and took to flight. Sumpter pressed with ardor the advantage he had gained, and bore down upon the legion infantry, which was forced. He then fell upon Brown's detachment. Here he was received upon the point of the bayonet. The contest grew fierce, and the issue doubtful; but at length the corps of Brown fell back, having lost nearly all its officers and a great proportion of its soldiers.

Hamilton's regiment, with the remains of Brown's and the legion infantry, now formed in the centre of their position, a hollow square.

Sumpter advanced with the determination to strike this last point of resistance; but the ranks of the militia had become disordered; and the men scattered from success, and from the plunder of part of the British camp, so that only two hundred infantry, and Davie's dragoons, could be brought into array. The musketry opened; but their fire was ineffectual: nor could Sumpter, by all his exertions, again bring his troops to risk close action against his well posted enemy, supported by two pieces of artillery. The cavalry under Davie fell upon a body of the loyalists, who, having rallied, had formed in the opposite quarter, and menaced our right flank. They were driven from their ground, and took shelter under the British infantry still in hollow square.

The spoils of the camp, and the free use of spirits in which the enemy abounded, had for some time attracted and incapacitated many of our soldiers. It was therefore determined to retreat with the prisoners and booty. This was done about twelve o'clock very leisurely in face of the enemy; who did not attempt interruption, so severely had he suffered. A party was now for the first time seen drawn up on the Cambden road, with the appearance of renewal of the contest; but on the approach of Davie it fell back. Our loss was not ascertained, from the usual inattention to returns prevalent with militia officers; and many of our wounded were immediately carried home from the field of battle. The corps of Davie suffered most. Captain M'Clure, of South Carolina, and captain Reed, of North Carolina, were killed; colonel Hill, major Winn, and lieutenant Crawford, were wounded, as were captain Craighead, lieutenant Flenchau, and ensign M'Clure, of North Carolina. The British loss exceeded ours. Captain M'Cullock, who commanded the legion infantry with much personal honor, two other officers, and twenty men of the same corps, were killed, and nearly forty wounded. Many officers and men of Brown's regiment were also killed and wounded, and some taken.

Bryan's loyalists were less hurt, having dispersed as soon as pressed. The error of the guides which deranged the plan of attack, the allurement of the spoils found in the enemy's camp, and the indulgence in the use of liquor, deprived Sumpter of the victory once within his grasp, and due to the zeal, gallantry, and perseverance of himself and his officers.

Checked but not dismayed, disappointed but not discouraged, Sumpter sought his remote asylum to recruit and repair. About this period Gates was advancing near to the scene of action. The American general, soon after he entered South Carolina, directed his march towards Lynch's creek, the southern branch of the Pedee, keeping on his right the friendly and fertile country about Charlotte, the principal town of Mecklenburgh county. Lord Rawdon, unwilling that Gates should find him in Cambden, where were deposited his stores, ammunitions and sick, advanced to a strong position, fifteen miles in front, on the southern banks of Lynch's creek.

This being ascertained by general Gates, he moved to Lynch's, opposite to lord Rawdon; and the two armies remained for four days, separated only by the creek. Gates broke up from this ground inclining to his right, which putting in danger the British advanced post at Rudgely's mill, lord Rawdon directed its evacuation, and fell back to Logstown, in the vicinity of Cambden. Here he became acquainted with the insurrection of the inhabitants on Black River, headed by brigadier Marion, which, although suspected, it was presumed would have been delayed until the American army should obtain some decisive advantage. Gates, desirous of opening his communication with Sumpter, continued to advance upon the north side of Lynch's creek, and took post at Rudgely's mill, where he was joined by brigadier Stevens with seven hundred of the Virginia militia. At the same time he received information from general Sumpter that a detachment of the enemy from Ninety-six, with stores for the main body at Cambden, was on its march, which he could conveniently intercept as it passed the ferry on the Wateree, one mile below Cambden, if supplied with artillery to batter down a redoubt which covered the ferry. Gates weakened his army, though in striking distance of his foe, by detaching to Sumpter four hundred men under the command of lieutenant colonel Woolford, of the Maryland line, with two light pieces. As soon as this detachment was put in motion, preparations were made to advance still nearer to Cambden.

The evacuation of Rudgely's mill, and the falling back of lord Rawdon from Lynch's creek, seem to have inspired general Gates with the presumption that his approach would drive the enemy from Cambden. No conclusion more erroneous could have been drawn from a fair view of the objects and situation of the respective armies.

The British general was under the necessity of maintaining his position; for retreat yielded up that country which he was bound to retain, and encouraged that spirit of revolt which he was bound to repress. All the disposable force under his orders had been concentrated at Cambden; delay would not thicken his ranks while it was sure to add to those of his adversary. Every consideration urged the British general to battle; and no commander was ever more disposed than lord Cornwallis to cut out relief from embarrassment by the sword. The foundation of the policy pursued by general Gates, was laid in error; and we ought not to be surprised at its disastrous termination. Had Gates not confidently presumed that a retrograde movement on the part of the enemy would have been the effect of his advance, he certainly would have detained Woolford's detachment, and ordered Sumpter to join him; it being unquestionable that victory in the plains of Cambden would give to him the British army, and with it all the posts in South Carolina except Charleston. To this end his means ought to have been solely directed; or if he preferred the wiser course, to spin out the campaign condensing his main body, and beating the enemy in detail, he should have continued in his strong position behind Lynch's creek, ready upon Cornwallis's advance to have fallen back upon its head waters, in the powerful and doubtful counties of Cabarrus, Rowand, and Mecklenburgh.*

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* The inhabitants of these three counties, among the most populous in the state, were true and zealous in their maintenance of the revolution; and they were always ready to encounter any and every peril to support the cause of their hearts. Contiguous to the western border over the mountains, lived that hardy race of mountaineers, equally attached to the cause of our common country; and who rolled occasionally like a torrent on the hostile territory. The ground was strong, and the soil rich and cultivated. In every respect, therefore, it was adapted to the American general until he had rendered himself completely ready for offence.

No doubt general Gates was unfortunately persuaded that he had nothing to do but to advance upon his enemy, never supposing that so far from retiring, the British general would seize the proffered opportunity of battle.

Unhappily for America, unhappily for himself, he acted under this influence, nor did he awake from his reverie until the proximity of the enemy was announced by his fire in the night, preceding the fatal morning.

Lord Cornwallis having been regularly informed of the passing occurrences, hastened to Cambden, which he reached on the 13th; spending the subsequent day in review and examination, he found his army very much enfeebled; eight hundred being sick, his effective strength was reduced to somewhat less than two thousand and three hundred men, including militia, and Bryan's corps, which, together amounted to seven hundred and fifty men. Judging from the exertions of congress and the states of Virginia and North Carolina, by their publications, he rated his enemy at six thousand; in which estimation his lordship was much mistaken, as from official returns on the evening preceding the battle, it appears that our force did not exceed four thousand, including the corps detached under lieutenant colonel Woolford; yet there was a great disparity of numbers in our favor; but we fell short in quality, our continental horse, foot, and artillery, being under one thousand, whereas the British regulars amounted to nearly one thousand and six hundred.

Notwithstanding his diminished force, notwithstanding the vast expected superiority of his enemy, the discriminating mind of the British general paused not an instant in deciding upon his course.

No idea of a retrograde movement was entertained by him. Victory only could extricate him from the surrounding dangers; and the quicker the decision, the better his chance of success. He therefore gave orders to prepare for battle, and in the evening of the 15th, put his army in motion to attack his enemy next morning in his position at Rudgely's mill.

Having placed Cambden in the care of major M'Arthur, with the convalescents, some of the militia, and a detachment of regulars expected in the course of the day, he moved, at the hour of ten at night, in two divisions. The front division, composed of four companies of light infantry, with the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, was commanded by lieutenant colonel Webster.

The rear division, consisting of the legion infantry, Hamilton's regiment of North Carolinians, the volunteers of Ireland, and Bryan's corps of loyalists, was under the orders of lord Rawdon. Two battalions of the seventy-first, with the legion cavalry, formed the reserve.

After Gates had detached Woolford to Sumpter, and prepared his army to move, it was resolved in a council of war to march on the night of the 15th, and to sit down behind Saunder's creek, within seven miles of Cambden. Thus it happened that both the generals were in motion at the same hour, and for the same purpose: with this material distinction, that the American general grounded his conduct in his mistaken confidence of his adversary's disposition to retreat; whereas, the British commander sought for battle with anxiety, regarding the evasion of it by his antagonist as the highest misfortune.

Our baggage, stores and sick, having been sent off to the friendly settlement of the Waxhaws, the army marched at ten o'clock at night. Armand's* legion, in horse and foot not exceeding one hundred, moved as a vanguard, flanked by lieutenant colonel Porterfield's corps on the right, and by major Armstrong's light infantry, of the North Carolina militia, on the left. The Maryland and Delaware lines composed the front division, under baron de Kalb; the militia of North Carolina, under general Caswell, the centre; and the Virginia militia, under brigadier Stevens, the rear. Some volunteer cavalry were placed to guard the baggage. Midway between Cambden and Rudgley's mill, the two armies met, about one in the morning. They instantly felt each other; when the corps of Armand shamefully turned its back, carrying confusion and dismay into our ranks. The leading regiment of Maryland was disordered by this ignominious flight;

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* Armand was one of the many French gentlemen who joined our army, and was one of the few who were honored with important commands. His officers were generally foreign, and his soldiers chiefly deserters. It was the last corps in the army which ought to have been entrusted with the van post; because, however unexceptionable the officers may have been, the materials of which the corps was composed did not warrant such distinction.

but the gallant Porterfield, taking his part with decision on the right, seconded by Armstrong on the left, soon brought the enemy's van to a pause. Prisoners being taken on both sides, the adverse generals became informed of their unexpected proximity.* The two armies halted, each throbbing with the emotions which the van rencontre had excited. The British army displayed in one line, which completely occupied the ground, each flank resting on impervious swamps. The infantry of the reserve took post in a second line, one half opposite the centre of each wing; and the cavalry held the road, where the left of the right wing united with the volunteers of Ireland, which corps formed the right of the left wing. Lieutenant colonel Webster commanded on the right, and colonel lord Rawdon on the left. With the front line were two six and two three pounders, under lieutenant M'Leod of the artillery; with the reserve were two six pounders. Thus arranged, confiding in discipline and experience, the British general waited anxiously for light.

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* Mr. Marshall, in his Life of Washington, gives a summary of the principal events in the southern war. This faithful historian tells us, that in the night, as soon as the skirmish terminated, some prisoners were brought to Gates; from whom he learnt that the British army was in front. The general officers were immediately assembled. The intelligence received from the prisoners was communicated to them, and their opinions asked on the measures to be adopted.

General Stevens, of the Virginia militia, answered, that " It was now too late to retreat." A silence of some moments ensued; and general Gates, who seems himself to have been disposed to try the chance of a battle, understanding silence to be an approbation of the sentiments delivered by Stevens, broke up the council by saying, " Then we must fight: gentlemen, please to take your posts."

The Maryland leading regiment was soon recovered from the confusion produced by the panic of Armand's cavalry. Battle, although unexpected, was now inevitable; and general Gates arrayed his army with promptitude. The second brigade of Maryland, with the regiment of Delaware, under general Gist, took the right; the brigade of North Carolina militia, led by brigadier Caswell, the centre; and that of Virginia, under brigadier Stevens, the left. The first brigade of Maryland was formed in reserve, under the command of general Smallwood, who had on York Island, in the beginning of the war, when colonel of the first regiment of Maryland, deeply planted in the hearts of his country the remembrance of his zeal and valor, conspicuously displayed in that the first of his fields. To each brigade a due proportion of artillery was allotted; but we had no cavalry, as those who led in the right were still flying. Major general baron de Kalb, charged with the line of battle, took post on the right; while the general in chief, superintending the whole, placed himself on the road between the line and the reserve. The light of day dawned,—the signal for battle. Instantly our centre opened its artillery, and the left of our line, under Stevens, was ordered to advance. The veterans of the enemy, composing its right, were of course opposed to the Virginia militia; whereas they ought to have been faced by the continental brigade.* Stevens, however, exhorting his soldiers to rely on the bayonet, advanced with his accustomed intrepidity. Lieutenant colonel Otho Williams, adjutant general, preceded him with a band of volunteers, in order to invite the fire of the enemy before they were in reach of the militia, that experience of its inefficacy might encourage the latter to do their duty. The British general, closely watching our motions, discovered this movement on the left, and gave orders to Webster to lead into battle with the right. The command was executed with the characteristic courage and intelligence of that officer. Our left was instantly overpowered by the assault; and the brave Stevens had to endure the mortifying spectacle, exhibited by his flying brigade. Without exchanging more than one fire with the enemy, they threw away their arms; and sought that safety in flight, which generally can be obtained only by courageous resistance. The North Carolina brigade, imitating that on the right, followed the shameful example. Stevens, Caswell, and Gates himself, struggled to stop the fugitives, and rally them for battle;

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* General Gates did not, in his disposition, conform to the judicious principle which we find observed by general Lincoln; or our continentals would have been posted on the left to oppose the British right. Indeed, such seems to have been Gates' hurry, from the moment he was called to the command in the south, as to forbid that full inquiry into his enemy's and his own situation, as well as intimate acquaintance with the character of his own and his enemy's troops, so necessary to the pursuit of right measures in war.

but every noble feeling of the heart was sunk in base solicitude to preserve life; and having no cavalry to assist their exertions, the attempted reclamation failed entirely. The continental troops, with Dixon's regiment of North Carolinians, were left to oppose the enemy; every corps of whose army was acting with the most determined resolution. De Kalb and Gist yet held the battle on our right in suspense. Lieutenant colonel Howard, at the head of Williams's regiment, drove the corps in front out of line. Rawdon could not bring the brigade of Gist to recede:—bold was the pressure of the foe; firm as a rock the resistance of Gist. Now the Marylanders were gaining ground; but the deplorable desertion of the militia having left Webster unemployed, that discerning soldier detached some light troops with Tarleton's cavalry in pursuit, and opposed himself to the reserve brought up by Smallwood to replace the fugitives. Here the battle was renewed with fierceness and obstinacy. The gallant Marylanders, with Dixon's regiment, although greatly outnumbered, firmly maintained the desperate conflict; and de Kalb, now finding his once exposed flank completely shielded, resorted to the bayonet. Dreadful was the charge! In one point of the line the enemy were driven before us with the loss of many prisoners. But while Smallwood covered the flank of the second brigade, his left became exposed; and Webster, never omitting to seize every advantage, turned the light infantry and twenty-third regiment on his open flank. Smallwood, however, sustained himself with undiminished vigor; but borne down at last by superiority of force, the first brigade receded. Soon it returned to the line of battle;—again it gave ground, and again rallied. Meanwhile de Kalb, with our right, preserved a conspicuous superiority. Lord Cornwallis, sensible of the advantages gained, and aware of the difficulty to which we were subjected by the shameful flight of our left, concentrated his force and made a decisive charge. Our brave troops were broken; and his lordship, following up the blow, compelled the intrepid Marylanders to abandon the unequal contest. To the woods and swamps, after performing their duty valiantly, these gallant soldiers were compelled to fly. The pursuit was continued with keenness, and none were saved but those who penetrated the swamps which had been deemed impassable. The road was heaped with the dead and wounded. Arms, artillery, horses and baggage, were strewed in every direction; and the whole adjacent country presented evidences of the signal defeat.

Our loss was very heavy. More than a third of the continental troops were killed and wounded; and of the wounded one hundred and seventy were made prisoners. The regiment of Delaware was nearly annihilated; and lieutenant colonel Vaughn and major Patton being taken, its remnant, less than two companies, was afterwards placed under the orders of Kirkwood, senior captain.* The North Carolina militia also suffered greatly; more than three hundred were taken, and nearly one hundred killed and wounded. Contrary to the usual course of events and the general wish, the Virginia militia, who sat the infamous example which produced the destruction of our army, escaped entirely.

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* The state of Delaware furnished one regiment only; and certainly no regiment in the army surpassed it in soldiership.

De Kalb, sustaining by his splendid example the courageous efforts of our inferior force, in his last resolute attempt to seize victory, received eleven wounds, and was made prisoner. His yet lingering life was rescued from immediate death by the brave interposition of lieutenant colonel du Buysson, one of his aids-de-camp; who, embracing the prostrate general, received into his own body the bayonets pointed at his friend. The heroic veteran, though treated with every attention, survived but a few days. Never were

The remnant of that corps, less than two companies, from the battle of Cambden, was commanded by captain Kirkwood, who passed through the war with high reputation; and yet as the line of Delaware consisted but of one regiment, and that regiment was reduced to a captain's command, Kirkwood never could be promoted in regular routine,—a very glaring defect in the organization of the army, as it gave advantages to parts of the same army, denied to other portions of it. The sequel is singularly hard. Kirkwood retired, upon peace, as a captain; and when the army under St. Clair was raised to defend the West from the Indian enemy, this veteran resumed his sword as the eldest captain of the oldest regiment.

In the decisive defeat of the 4th November the gallant Kirkwood fell, bravely sustaining his point of the action. It was the thirty-third time he had risked his life for his country; and he died as he had lived, the brave, meritorious, unrewarded, Kirkwood.

the last moments of a soldier better employed. He dictated a letter to general Smallwood, who succeeded to the command of his division, breathing in every word his sincere and ardent affection for his officers and soldiers; expressing his admiration of their late noble though unsuccessful stand; reciting the eulogy which their bravery had extorted from the enemy; together with the lively delight such testimony of their valor had excited in his own mind, then hovering on the shadowy confines of life. In this endearing adieu he comprehended lieutenant colonel Vaughn, with the Delaware regiment and the artillery attached to his division; both of which corps had shared in the glory of that disastrous day. Feeling the pressure of death, he stretched out his quivering hand to his friend du Buysson, proud of his generous wounds; and breathed his last in benedictions on his faithful, brave division.* We lost, besides major general baron de Kalb, many excellent officers; and among them lieutenant colonel Porterfield, whose promise of future greatness had endeared him to the whole army. Wounded in his brave stand in the morning, when our dragoons basely fled, he was taken off the field, never more to draw his sword! Brigadier Rutherford, of the North Carolina militia, and major Thomas Pinkney, of the South Carolina line, aid-de-camp to general Gates, were both wounded and taken.

The British loss is stated to have amounted to eighty killed, and two hundred and forty-five wounded.

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* See Appendix, D.

In the dreadful gloom which now overspread the United States, the reflecting mind drew consolation from the undismayed gallantry displayed by a portion of the army, throughout the desperate conflict; and from the zeal, courage and intelligence, exhibited by many of our officers. Smallwood and Gest had conducted themselves with exemplary skill and bravery. Stevens and Caswell both deserved distinguished applause, although both were the mortified leaders of spiritless troops. Colonel Williams, adjutant general, was conspicuous throughout the action; cheerfully risking his valuable life out of his station, performing his assumed duties with precision and effect, and volunteering his person wherever danger called. Lieutenant colonel Howard demonstrated a solidity of character, which, on every future occasion, he displayed honorably to himself, and advantageously to his country. The general in chief, although deeply unfortunate, is entitled to respect and regard. He took decisive measures to restore the action, by unceasing efforts to rally the fugitive militia; and had he succeeded, would have led them to the vortex of battle. By seconding the continental troops with this rallied corps, he would probably have turned the fortune of the day, or have died like the hero of Saratoga.

None, without violence to the claims of honor and justice, can withhold applause from colonel Dixon and his North Carolina regiment of militia. Having their flank exposed by the flight of the other militia, they turned with disdain from the ignoble example; and fixing their eyes on the Marylanders, whose left they became, determined to vie in deeds of courage with their veteran comrades. Nor did they shrink from this daring resolve. In every vicissitude of the battle, this regiment maintained its ground; and, when the reserve under Smallwood, covering our left, relieved its naked flank, forced the enemy to fall back. Colonel Dixon had seen service, having commanded a continental regiment under Washington. By his precepts and example he infused his own spirit into the breasts of his troops; who, emulating the noble ardor of their leader, demonstrated the wisdom of selecting experienced officers to command raw soldiers.*

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* The American war presents examples of first rate courage, occasionally exhibited by corps of militia, and often with the highest success.

Here was a splendid instance of self-possession by a single regiment, out of two brigades. Dixon had commanded a continental regiment; and of course, to his example and knowledge, much is to be ascribed; yet praise is nevertheless due to the troops. While I record, with delight, facts which maintain our native and national courage, I feel a horror lest demagogues, who flourish in a representative system of government, (the best, when virtue rules, the wit of man can devise) shall avail themselves of the occasional testimony, to produce a general result.

Convinced as I am, that a government is the murderer of its citizens, which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught, where they are to meet men of the same age and strength, mechanized by education and discipline for battle, I cannot withhold my denunciation of its wickedness and folly; much as I applaud, and must ever applaud, those instances, like the one before us, of armed citizens vying with our best soldiers in the first duty of man to his country.

In the midst of this heart-rending defeat, general Gates received advice of the success of Sumpter against the British convoy. Some consolation* was thus administered to his wounded spirit. The corps under Sumpter, added to those who had escaped this day of destruction, would have formed a force which could preserve the appearance of resistance, and give time for the arrival of succor. Major M'Arthur, about the same time, communicated the occurrence to lord Cornwallis; who occupied his first moments after our defeat in despatching orders to lieutenant colonel Turnbull, then stationed on Little river with the New York volunteers, and major Ferguson's corps of loyalists, to intercept general Sumpter and bring him to action.

Major Davie's corps, part of the force under Sumpter, in his preceding operations, had suffered severely on the 6th of August, in the unsuccessful attempt on the post of Hanging Rock; and was subsequently engaged in escorting our wounded to Charlotte, where Davie had previously established a hospital. The moment this service was performed, major Davie hastened to the general rendezvous at Rudgley's mill. On the fifteenth, arriving after Gates had moved, he followed the army; and marching all night, met the first part of our flying troops about four miles from the field of battle. With an expectation of being useful in saving soldiers, baggage and stores, he continued to advance; and meeting with brigadier general Huger, of the South Carolina line, driving his tired horse before him, he learnt the probability of Sumpter's ignorance of the defeat of our army, and of the consequent danger to which he would be exposed. Major Davie therefore instantly despatched captain Martin, attended by two dragoons, to inform Sumpter of this afflicting event; to urge him to take care of his corps by immediate retreat, and to request him to repair to Charlotte, whither himself meant to proceed, and assemble, as he returned, all the force which could be induced to take the field. On the night following, captain Martin reached Sumpter, who immediately decamped with his prisoners and booty. Turnbull's attempt failed, from the celerity with which Sumpter had moved. Apprehensive that Sumpter might escape Turnbull, and anxious to break up this corps, the British general was not satisfied with a single effort to destroy him;

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* This consolation was necessarily mingled with acute remorse. It must have reminded the general of the advantages once in his command, by pursuing the prudent system of striking his adversary in detail; and if victory with him was only pleasant by being immediate, it would bring to his recollection the propriety of having brought Sumpter to him, instead of detaching Woolford from him.

Lord Cornwallis, hearing from his commandant at Cambden of the success of Sumpter, in the midst of his prosperity turned his mind to the recovery of the loss he had sustained,—an example meriting imitation from all who may command in war. Small as was the advantage gained, had it been enjoyed, great would have been the good derived in its consequences. The British general, foreseeing this, did not indulge even in the proud moments of victory, but gave his mind and time to prepare Sumpter's destruction.

and, on the same evening, directed lieutenant colonel Tarleton, with his legion and some light infantry, to proceed in the morning from the field of battle across the Wateree in pursuit of that enterprising officer.

Having avoided Turnbull, Sumpter seems to have indulged a belief that he was safe; and accordingly encamped on the night of the 17th at Rocky Mount, about thirty miles from Cambden, and much nearer Cornwallis. To halt for the night within striking distance of the British army was evidently improvident. After a few hours rest, he ought certainly to have renewed his march. At day light, he did, indeed, resume it; but, having passed Fishing creek, eight miles distant, he again halted. His troops occupied, in line of march, a ridge contiguous to the north side of the creek, at which place his rear guard was stationed; and two videts were posted at a small distance in its front. Confiding in this hazardous situation, to these slender precautions, his arms were stacked, the men were permitted to indulge at pleasure; some in strolling, some bathing, and others reposing. Our troops, no doubt, were extremely wearied; but bodily debility does not warrant inattention in a commander: it should redouble his caution and exertion. If the halt at Fishing creek was unavoidable, the troops least fatigued and best armed should have been selected and posted for combat, while those most fatigued, snatched rest and food. With this alternate relief the retreat ought to have been continued; and the corps would have been saved.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton moved with his accustomed velocity; and after a rapid march on the 17th, approached Sumpter's line of retreat. Finding many of his men and his horses too much exhausted to proceed with the requisite despatch, he left behind more than half of his force, and pressed forward with about one hundred and sixty. Passing the Catawba at Rocky Mount ford, he got into Sumpter's rear, whose precautions for security were readily eluded. The enemy reached him unperceived, when consternation at the unlooked-for assault became general. Partial resistance was attempted, but soon terminated in universal flight. Sumpter's force, with the detachment under lieutenant colonel Woolford, was estimated at eight hundred: some were killed, others wounded, and the rest dispersed. Sumpter himself fortunately escaped, as did about three hundred and fifty of his men; leaving two brass pieces of artillery, arms and baggage, in possession of the enemy, who recovered their wagons, stores and prisoners.*

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* The officer adventuring, as did general Sumpter, must never be satisfied with common precautions: they will not do.

It is difficult to prescribe rules upon the subject; because every single case is to be regarded, and must suggest its own regulations to a meditating mind. One fixed principle however we may venture to lay down: viz. that the captured, with a portion of the victorious corps, ought to be immediately despatched, with orders to move night and day until out of reach; while the commander, with the least fatigued troops, should hold himself some hours in the rear, sweeping with the best of his cavalry all the country between him and his enemy, thus procuring correct information, which will always secure a retiring corps.

In this enterprise, although fortunate in its issue, lieutenant colonel Tarleton evinced a temerity, which could not, if pursued, long escape exemplary chastisement. Had Sumpter discovered his approach, that day would at least have arrested his career, if it had not closed his existence. But unhappily for America, her soldiers were slaughtered, sometimes from the improvidence of their leaders, more often from their own fatal neglect of duty and disobedience of orders. Vain is it to place guards around your camp, and videts in their front, if, unmindful of the responsibility of their stations, they indulge in repose, or relinquish their posts. The severe consequences of such criminal neglect, we may suppose, would prevent the repetition of the evil; but soldiers are not to be corrected by their own observations or deductions. Rewards and punishments must be added; and execution on the spot, of a faithless or negligent centinel, is humanity in the end. Militia will not endure this rigor, and are therefore improperly intrusted with the sword of the nation in war. The pursuance of that system must weaken the best resources of the state, by throwing away the lives of its citizens; and those rulers must provoke the vengeance of Heaven, who invite such destruction, by adhering to this impotent policy.

The tragedy of the 16th, closing with the catastrophe of the 18th, the army of the south became a second time nearly annihilated. General Gates halted at Charlotte, where some of his defeated army had arrived. Soon after he retired to Salisbury, and afterwards to Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty miles from Cambden; where he determined to collect his scattered forces, and to draw reinforcements, with a resolution of again facing his successful adversary.* Smallwood and Gest continued at Salisbury, until all the dispersed continentals were assembled. The militia of both states passed on towards their respective homes, selecting their own route, and obtaining subsistence from the charity of the farmers on the road.

We shall here break the thread of our narrative, and go into those inquiries, which our misfortunes require, it being the object of these Memoirs, by a faithful and plain elucidation of the occurrences of our war, connecting events with their causes, to enlighten the future defenders and rulers of our country. The character of a military chief contributes not a little to give character to his army; provided the pressure of circumstances does not urge him to the field, before he has time and opportunity to know and be known. Major general Gates assumed the command under the happiest circumstances. He was hailed as the conqueror at Saratoga; and our gallant troops, anticipating the future from reflecting on the past, proudly presumed that his skill, directing their valor, would liberate the south, and diffuse over his evening, an effulgence more brilliant than his meridian glory.

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* This rapid withdraw of general Gates has been generally supposed to diminish his reputation. Not so, in truth. It does him honor; as it evinced a mind capable, amidst confusion and distress, of discerning the point most promising to renew with expedition his strength: at the same time incapable of being withheld from doing his duty, by regarding the calumny with which he was sure to be assailed.

Considering the condition of the respective armies, this fond expectation will not appear chimerical. But, unhappily for us, the inviting opportunity was neglected; and general Gates, buoyed up by his campaign in the north, seems to have acted under a conviction that it was only necessary to meet the foe to conquer. What heavy misfortunes spring from our own fatuity! The day after the Virginia militia joined at Rudgley's mill, he rashly advanced towards the enemy; and persevered in the same precipitancy, until stopped by his adversary, moving to strike him in his camp. Let us suppose that he had conducted his operations on different principles; what would have been the probable result? Had he wisely taken with him the old regiment of dragoons under White and Washington, as those brave officers in vain solicited; instead of a dastardly flight, an example of heroism would have been exhibited. The enemy would have been driven in; prisoners would have been made by, but none from, us; intelligence would have been shut to the enemy, but open to ourselves; and the dawn of day would have found our troops, emboldened by the example of the cavalry, panting for battle. He would, moreover, have been provided with a body of horse, more numerous and capable, than that of his enemy; and would have carried his army, full of bodily strength and exalted spirits, into the neighborhood of his foe. By falling back from Lynch's creek, when lord Rawdon retired to Logtown, he would have placed himself in a friendly, strong and plentiful country; where, out of striking distance, he might have employed a week or ten days in training his militia, and infusing into them that self-confidence which doubly arms the soldier in the day of battle.* While improving the condition of his army, he might, by despatching influential characters to the west of the Allegany, have brought down one or two thousand of those hardy warriors to Charlotte, to be used as an army of reserve, should events require it. What was of the highest importance, he must, by this delay, have ascertained with precision, the intention of the enemy in time to elude or resist it; and would have drawn Cornwallis further from his point of safety: thus more and more exposing him to the harassing attacks of Marion and Sumpter on his flanks and in his rear. All these advantages were within the general's grasp. The partial, though sure, game of destruction had commenced. Sumpter had seized the stores and convoy from Ninety-six, with which he could have regained his asylum, had not general Gates's impatience to approach the enemy refused even one day's rest to the

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* Lord Rawdon's retrograde movement from Lynch's creek was certainly a favorable movement for general Gates' correction of his erroneous system, and enabled the general to have worked his own troops into the best spirits. Had he so done, and fallen back himself, holding his main body safe, and supporting, by fit and occasional succor, Marion and Sumpter in their sudden inroads into the enemy's territory, and upon his flanks, we must then have recovered South Carolina, with the exception of Charleston.

Virginia brigade. Tarleton could not have been spared from the main body in face of our army; who, although inactive, would be in the fit attitude for striking whenever the opportune moment should arrive; and consequently he would not have been detached in pursuit of Sumpter. Obvious as was this mode of operation, general Gates, with the "veni, vidi, vici" of Cesar in his imagination, rushed on to the fatal field, where he met correction, not more severe than merited.

Hillsborough having been selected as headquarters, thither the fragments of our beaten army repaired; so that the best affected, and most powerful district of North Carolina, situated between the Catawba and Yadkin rivers, became exposed to the depredations of the enemy. Brigadier Davidson and colonel Davie, now promoted by the governor, and appointed to the command of the cavalry of the state, remained true to the obligations which honor and duty alike imposed. Encouraging all around them, they drew together their faithful comrades, and took measures for the collection of requisite supplies; resolved to desist from resistance only with the loss of life. In this manly resolution they were cordially joined by brigadier Sumner. The two generals returned to assemble their militia; while colonel Davie, with eighty dragoons and major Davidson's two mounted companies of riflemen, established himself in the Waxhaw settlement, about thirty-five miles from Charlotte. Here he continued actively employed in watching the movements of the enemy, and repressing their predatory excursions, which, in consequence of the devastation of the country between the Waxhaws and Cambden, were extended to the latter district.

Lord Cornwallis, necessarily delayed from the want of stores which he expected from New York, devoted his leisure to the civil duties of his station. Persevering in the policy adopted by sir Henry Clinton, he inforced the penalty of this general's proclamation with rigor. A commissioner was named to take possession of the estates of all who adhered to the enemies of the king, with directions first to support the wives and children of such offenders, and next to pay the residue of the proceeds of the estates to the paymaster general of the royal forces.

Death was again denounced against all persons, who, having received protections, should be found in arms against the king's troops. Some of the militia, taken in the late defeat, being charged with that offence, were actually hung. This sanguinary conduct, in the amiable, humane Cornwallis, evinces the proneness of military men, however virtuous, to abuse power. The injustice of breaking a contract, and the criminality of sir Henry Clinton in that respect, have been already mentioned. Confiding in the plighted faith of the British general, many of our countrymen had taken protections, which never would have been accepted, had it been understood they converted those who received them into liege subjects. When sir Henry Clinton deemed it eligible, by an arbitrary fiat to annul those protections, justice demanded that he should have left it optional with the holder to take the oath of allegiance, or abandon the state. A severe alternative, but justifiable in war. To break solemn compacts; to transmute the party from the state in which he stood, to a mere dependence on human will, and to hang him for not conforming to that will, is crying injustice. Instead of demanding reparation, and proclaiming the "lex talionis," we submitted, with folded arms, to the criminal outrage. We must look back, with feelings of degradation, to this disgraceful period of our history. Although no advocate for the law of retaliation on slight occasions, it often happens, that the unjust can only be taught the value of justice by feeling the severity of retort; and those in power should never hesitate to apply its rigor, when so imperatively demanded.

The severity of the British commander was not restricted to the deluded class, who had taken protections: it was extended to the most respectable characters of the state, who had been made prisoners at the fall of Charleston. Letters were found from some of these gentlemen to their friends, killed or taken on the 16th, making communications, as was alleged, but never proved, incompatible with their paroles. The venerable Mr. Gadsden, lieutenant governor, with several other gentlemen, were first confined on board prison ships in Charleston harbor; and afterwards sent to St. Augustine, in East Florida, where they were again admitted to very limited indulgences.

We shall soon find how the injustice and severity now practised, recoiled upon their authors.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE British general, having received his supplies, moved from Cambden on the 8th of September, to accomplish the great object, which he had with much regret deferred. The conquest of North Carolina, before congress could bring another army into the field, was deemed certain; and would enable the victorious general to approximate Virginia, the devoted victim of the ensuing spring's operations. During the winter he expected to restore the royal authority, to lay up magazines, to provide all the necessary horses for the next campaign, and what was very desirable, to fill up his ranks with young Americans. Elated with these flattering expectations, Cornwallis took his route through those parts of the state, distinguished for their firm adherence to their country. The main body moved first to the Waxhaw's settlement, and next to Charlotte, with an intention to proceed to Salisbury.

Corresponding with the main body on its left, lieutenant colonel Tarleton traversed the country, west of the Wateree, at the head of his legion and the light infantry. Still nearer to the frontiers, lieutenant colonel Ferguson marched with his corps of provincials. The route of the army lay intermediate to the two settlements of Cross-creek and Tryan county; with both of which, favoring his views, his lordship wished to open safe and direct intercourse. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton united with the main body, in its camp at the Waxhaws, where Cornwallis had halted.

The approach of Cornwallis compelled colonel Davie to fall back upon Charlotte, and his abandoned position was comprehended in the British camp. Davie took post at Providence, on the Charlotte road, twenty-five miles from the Waxhaws. So exhausted was the country, that in this well improved settlement, the British general was straitened for provisions, and obliged to send his light party in every direction; for whose safety he entertained no apprehension, knowing the humble condition to which his successes had reduced us. Colonel Davie was not unapprised of his lordship's wants, and mode of supplying them; and having ascertained that, while the main body of the enemy was encamped on the north of the Catawba, some of the light troops and the loyalists occupied the southern banks of that river, some distance on the right of the British position, he determined to beat up their quarters in the night. With this view he decamped on the evening of the 20th of September; and taking an extensive circuit, turned the left of Cornwallis, and gained, unperceived, the camp of the loyalists. They had changed their ground, falling nearer to the light troops, and now were stationed at Wahab's plantation. Davie nevertheless persevered in his enterprize. Being among his friends, he was sure to receive accurate intelligence; and he had with him the best guides, as many of his corps were inhabitants of the very settlements; and their property, wives and children, were now in the possession of the enemy. He came in sight of Wahab's early the next morning, where he discovered a part of the loyalists and British legion, mounted, and arrayed near the house, which, in this quarter, was in some degree concealed by a cornfield, cultivated to the yard. Detaching major Davidson through the cornfield with the greater part of the riflemen, with orders to seize the house, he himself gained the lane leading to it. The enemy was completely surprised; and being keenly pushed, betook themselves to flight. Sixty killed and wounded were left on the ground; and as little or no resistance was made, only one of Davie's corps was wounded. The colonel, having collected ninety-six horses with their equipments, and one hundred and twenty stand of arms, retired with expedition; the British drums beating to arms in the contiguous quarters. Captain Wahab, the owner of the farm, spent the few minutes halt in delicious converse with his wife and children, who ran out as soon as the fire ceased, to embrace their long lost and beloved protector. Sweetly passed these moments; but they were succeeded by the most bitter. The British troops reaching the house, the commanding officer yielding to diabolical fury, ordered it to be burnt. A torch was instantly applied, and Wahab saw the only shelter of his helpless, unprotected family wrapped in flames, without the power of affording any relief to his forlorn wife and children. " These were times which tried men's souls." Davie made good his retreat, and returned to his camp at Providence, having marched sixty miles in twenty-four hours. On the evening of his return, general Sumner and Davidson arrived with their militia, amounting to one thousand men, enlisted for a short period. This body, with the small corps under colonel Davie, not two hundred, constituted all our force opposed to the advancing enemy.

Four days after the affair at Wahab's, the British general put his army in motion, taking the Steel creek road to Charlotte. This being announced to general Sumner by his light parties, he decamped from Providence, and retired on the nearest road to Salisbury; leaving colonel Davie with his corps, strengthened by a few volunteers under major Graham, to observe the movements of the enemy. Hovering round the British army, colonel Davie took several prisoners during the evening, and reached Charlotte about midnight. This village, standing on elevated ground, contained about twenty houses, built on two streets crossing each other at right angles. The court-house, constructed with stone, stood at the intersection of the two streets. The common, on the right of the street leading through the town, in the direction of the enemy's advance, was covered with a growth of underwood, and bounded by the gardens and other inclosures of the village: on the left was an open field. Colonel Davie, being informed of the approach of the enemy, and relying on the firmness of his troops, determined to give them an earnest of the spirit of the country into which they had entered. Dismounting his cavalry, who, in addition to the sword and pistol, were armed with muskets, he posted them in front of the court-house, under cover of a strong stone wall, breast high. His infantry, also dismounted, with Graham's volunteers, were advanced eighty yards in front, on each side of the street, covered by the inclosures of the village. While this disposition was making, the legion of Tarleton, led by major Hanger, Tarleton being sick, appeared on the common, and formed in a column, widened in front to correspond with the street, and flanked by parties of light infantry. The charge being sounded, the column of horse moved slowly, giving time for the light infantry to clear its flanks by dislodging their advanced adversaries. The moment these parties engaged, Hanger rushed along the street to the court-house, where Davie poured in his fire, and compelled him to recede. The dragoons fell back hastily, and were rallied on the common. Meanwhile our infantry, on the right of the street, were driven in, although bravely resisting; upon which, colonel Davie recalled those on our left, who still maintained their ground. The British light infantry continued to advance, and the action was vigorously renewed on our flanks. The centre reserved its fire for the cavalry, who, now returning to the charge, met with a repetition of their first reception, and retired in confusion to their former ground. The British infantry persevered; and having gained Davie's right flank, he drew off from the court-house, and arrayed his gallant band on the eastern side of the town. Cornwallis now came up to the legion cavalry, and chided, by reminding them of their former reputation. Advancing a third time, they pressed down the street, and ranged with the light infantry, who were still urging forward on our flank; when meeting with our brave corps, now mounted, they received as usual a well aimed fire, and were again repulsed. The flank companies of the seventy-first and thirty-third regiments advanced to support the light infantry; and Davie receded from the unequal contest, for a long time nobly supported, and retreated on the great Salisbury road. An attempt was made by the cavalry to disturb our retreat, which succeeded, so far as to drive in our rear guard; but stopped the moment the supporting company opened its fire. Lieutenant Locke and five privates were killed, and major Graham and twelve were wounded. The enemy lost twelve non-commissioned officers and privates killed; major Hanger, captains Campbell and M'Donald and many privates were wounded.

Lord Cornwallis established a post at Blair's mill, which he confided to major M'Arthur; and advanced towards Salisbury, in order to preserve his communication with Cambden. Thus the further he advanced the more his field force was necessarily reduced. This inconvenience an invading army must feel, and a judicious opponent will turn it to his advantage.

Lieutenant colonel Ferguson, still pursuing his course, reached Gilbert town; and was there informed, by his friends, that a large force of eastern militia was in motion. The British general had selected this excellent officer to command the only detachment from his army, which could be exposed to serious resistance. The principal object of the expedition was to excite the loyalists, in that quarter, to rebel openly, and unite with the British army. While Ferguson was endeavoring to effect this purpose, he was advised by lord Cornwallis of an assault on Augusta, with directions to intercept, if practicable, the assailants on their return. Augusta was commanded by lieutenant colonel T. Brown; who had been in the British service, previous to the war, and resided in Georgia. Pleasing and sensible, he was popular; and possessing influence with the Indian tribes, bordering on that state, from official connexion, he was dangerous. With a view to preserve control over the affections and conduct of the Indians, the British government not only continued the established custom of bestowing annual presents in arms, ammunition, blankets, salt, liquor, and other like articles precious to the forester, but in consequence of the war had much increased the annual gift.*

When Georgia fell, many of the most virtuous and distinguished citizens of that state, (as did afterwards those of South Carolina) fled to their brethren in the West. The most prominent among these voluntary exiles, was colonel Clarke, who employed his time and mind in preparing a sufficient force to enable him, on the first opportunity, to return and renew the contest. Vigilantly watching every occurrence, he was soon informed of the arrival at Augusta of the annual Indian presents. The desire to recover Augusta, always ascendant in Clarke's breast, now became irresistible. He called forth his comrades, and expatiated on the rich harvest of reward and glory within their reach, and the facility of obtaining it at that moment. His arguments were successful; and the warriors of the hills shouted for battle. No time was lost by their active leader in preparing for the enterprise. The wallets were filled with provisions, the guns cleaned, bullets moulded, and a scanty supply of powder was distributed out of their scanty magazine.

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* I never could see the justice of denominating our Indian borderers savage. They appear to me to merit a very different appellation, as we well know they are not behind their civilized neighbors in the practice of many of the virtues most dear to human nature.

These were the simple preparations of our hardy mountaineers for battle. A lesson, pregnant with instruction, to all military commanders. The nearer an army can be brought to this unencumbered and alert condition, the more is its effective capacity increased, the better are the public resources husbanded, and the quicker will the war be terminated. Two hours only were occupied in getting ready to move, which followed as soon as the horses could be brought from pasture and accoutred. The grass of nature gave subsistence to the horse, while the soldier feasted on the homely contents of his wallet, made and filled by his wife or mother.

Marching through friendly settlements, intelligence was gained, guides were procured, and accessions of strength acquired. Having reached the confines of the enemy, the leader halted, made his last arrangements, and issued his final orders. Then, with the velocity of an eagle, he pounced on his prey; but missing it, recurred to the slow and systematic operations which require patient vigilance and prevent hazard. The watchful Brown, informed of the gathering storm, was not surprised by its approach. Augusta being untenable with his weak force, he retired toward Garden Hill with his garrison of one hundred and fifty men, a few Indians, and two small brass pieces. In front of the latter position, he was vigorously attacked by Clarke, at the head of seven hundred men; but, under cover of his artillery, at length dislodged his enemy, and forced his way to the hill by the point of the bayonet. So soon as he had gained the hill, colonel Brown began to fortify himself in the best possible manner: being determined to hold out to the last moment, in order to give time for colonel Cruger, who commanded at Ninety-six, and was informed of Brown's situation and views, to relieve him. Among other expedients to form suitable defences, colonel Brown put in requisition all the bales of cloth, osnaburgs, blankets, &c. found in the store at Garden Hill, and converted them, with the assistance of rails and pailing, into a breastwork, proof against musketry. Clarke, nevertheless, persevered in his attempt to bring the enemy to submission; which he would have certainly accomplished, by availing himself of the two pieces of artillery, gained in the first conflict, had not the ammunition belonging to them been nearly exhausted. Deprived of this aid, he resorted to other expedients; and at length succeeded in depriving the garrison of water. But, unluckily, his adversary was no less fertile in mental resource than intrepid in battle. To remedy this menacing evil, colonel Brown ordered all the earthen vessels in the store to be taken, in which the urine was preserved; and when cold, it was served out with much economy to the troops, himself taking the first draught. Disregarding the torture of a wound in his leg, which had become much swoln from exertion, he continued booted at the head of his small gallant band, directing his defence, and animating his troops by his presence and example. Thus Brown courageously supported himself until the fourth day, when colonel Cruger appeared on the opposite banks. Colonel Clarke immediately withdrew, leaving his artillery behind, and disappointed by the invincible prowess of his enemy of a reward which, with less perseverance and gallantry, he might justly have expected to obtain.

Ferguson no sooner received the order of Cornwallis to attack the assailants of Augusta on their return, than he drew nearer to the mountain, prepared to attack Clarke as soon as he reached his vicinity. While waiting to execute this object, he heard that a new enemy was approaching him; for the very purpose of proceeding on the same enterprise, in which Clarke had just been foiled. A numerous assemblage of rifle militia had been drawn together from Kentucky, the western country of Virginia, and North Carolina; and were in motion under colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Williams, Sevier, and Shelby, towards Augusta; when hearing of Clarke's repulse and Ferguson's expedition, they relinquished their enterprise on Brown, and turned against Ferguson. Reaching Gilbert town, from which place Ferguson had lately retired, they selected one thousand and five hundred of their warriors, who followed the British partizan, bent upon his destruction. Ferguson, apprised of their pursuit, took post on the summit of King's mountain; a position, thickly set with trees, and more assailable by the rifle, than defensible with the bayonet. Here he was overtaken by our mountaineers, who quickly dismounted, and arrayed themselves for battle. Our brave countrymen were formed into three divisions, under their respective leaders, and coolly ascended the mountain in different directions. Colonel Cleveland first reached the enemy, and opened a destructive fire from behind the trees. Ferguson resorted to the bayonet: Cleveland necessarily gave way. At that instant, from another quarter, colonel Shelby poured in his fire; alike sheltered and alike effectual. Upon him Ferguson furiously turned, and advanced with the bayonet; gaining the only, though immaterial, advantage in his power, of forcing Shelby to recede. This was scarcely effected, before colonel Campbell had gained the summit of the mountain; when he too commenced a deadly fire. The British bayonet was again applied; and produced its former effect. All the divisions now returned in cooperation, and resistance became temerity. Nevertheless, Ferguson, confiding in the bayonet, sustained the attack with undismayed gallantry. The battle raged for fifty minutes, when the British commander received a ball, and fell dead. Deprived of their leader, the fire of the enemy slackened, and the second in command wisely beat a parley, which was followed by his surrender. Three hundred were killed and wounded; one hundred regulars and seven hundred loyalists were taken, with one thousand and five hundred stand of arms: lieutenant colonel Ferguson being provided with supernumerary muskets, to arm such of the inhabitants as might repair to the royal standard. Our loss was trifling in numbers; but among the killed was colonel Williams of South Carolina, who had joined those gallant patriots, with his adherents, from the district of Ninety-six, and was among the most active and resolute of this daring assemblage.

Although Clarke failed in the reduction of Augusta, his attempt led to the destruction of Ferguson; and with it, to the present relief of North Carolina.

See Mr. Shelby's very just account of
the battle. King's mountain of [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible]

CHAPTER XIX.

WHEN prepared to advance to Salisbury, the British general received the unwelcome news of the battle of King's Mountain. Disappointed in his expectation of important benefit from the exertions of colonel Ferguson among the loyalists of Tryon county; deprived of that officer and his corps, which constituted more than a fourth of the army; lord Cornwallis abandoned his project of advancing, and began a retreat to Cambden. The security of South Carolina, then threatened by the sudden incursions of the mountain warriors, and endangered by the undismayed activity of Sumpter, Marion and Pickens; and the necessity of procuring additional force before his preconcerted conquest could be pursued, required his lordship's return. On the 14th of October, the British army commenced its retreat from a country, which it had entered a few weeks before, with a confident expectation of reannexing it to the British empire.

As soon as sir Henry Clinton was informed of the defeat of Gates and dispersion of the force under Sumpter, in order to promote the operations of his general in the South, he detached three thousand men from New York to Virginia under the orders of major general Leslie. About the time Cornwallis retired from Charlotte, Leslie arrived in the Chesapeak, and commenced his operations on the south side of James river, making Portsmouth his principal position. The annihilation of Ferguson's force, having changed lord Cornwallis's plan, Leslie's continuance in Virginia became unnecessary; and he was directed by his lordship to embark without delay, and proceed to Charleston.

The preparations for resisting this officer were hardly begun, when the commonwealth was relieved from an invasion which it had deemed fixed; in as much as no doubt could exist, Leslie was intended to cooperate with lord Cornwallis, who, after the reduction of North Carolina, would advance upon Virginia. Soon after his lordship left Charleston the rainy season set in, which rendered his march very inconvenient and harassing. The ground being saturated with incessant rain, the troops were exposed to its chill exhalations, and became sickly. The general himself was seized with a bilious fever, and was so much indisposed as to resign the army to the direction of lord Rawdon.

This young nobleman had difficulties to encounter, in addition to those springing from the humidity of the air and ground. The swell of water courses presented new obstacles, not only to his progress, but to the procurement of forage and provisions for daily subsistence; which were before very difficult to obtain. The royal militia became now peculiarly useful. Enured to the climate, they escaped the prevailing sickness; and being mounted on horses, were employed unceasingly in hunting, collecting, and driving cattle from the woods to the army.* This meager supply was the only meat procurable; and young corn, gathered from the field, and boiled, or grated into meal, was the substitute for bread.† The British troops complained grievously of their sufferings on this march; which, in comparison with those endured by our army, were nothing. They were comfortably supplied with clothes, shoes and blankets; and a short interruption of regular meals, although not agreeable, was certainly not oppressive. Had they been in rags, without shoes, with one blanket only for three men, and pursued by a superior foe; patience and alacrity under the hardships of retreat would have entitled them to the praise which was lavished on their loyalty and fortitude.

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* In reviewing the military correspondence and statements of our war, the activity and usefulness of the Americans who joined the British, forces itself upon our attention. Not more than one tenth of our population is rated as attached to Great Britain in the late contest, of which not more than a hundreth is supposed to have taken an active part with the enemy. Yet great and effective were the services derived from them; not only in the field, where they fought with acknowledged valor, but in procuring intelligence, and providing provision. Mr. Kedman, a British officer, and in the commissariat under lord Cornwallis, tells us, that the army would have been often destitute of provisions, but through the capacity and activity of the inhabitants who repaired to the royal standard. In our war no liberal mind will deny, that every man had a right to take his side, as it grew out of a domestic difference; whereas, in a foreign war every citizen is bound to support his country. While, therefore, we lament the opposition of this part of our fellow citizens, we cannot condemn them for taking the part believed by them to be right.

It is to be hoped, that should we be brought (which in the course of things too often occurs) to make the last appeal again, that we shall be exempted from the ills which inevitably follow the want of unanimity. That government best deserves applause, which is administered with a view to preserve union at home as its first object; it being the cheapest and surest defence against injustice from abroad.

† During this retreat the British rasped the young corn into a coarse meal, which was considered a better mode of preparing the corn than roasting or parching, common with us. Biscuit made of flour, from which only the bran has been taken, is the best and cheapest for winter quarters, when the soldier may conveniently bake his bread.

After a fatiguing march of two weeks, through deep wet roads, and full water courses, all of which were necessarily forded, the enemy reached the country lying between Cambden and Ninety-six, on the 29th of October. To support these two stations, and to shield the intermediate space from American incursions, Cornwallis established himself at Winnsborough, a position very convenient for the purposes contemplated. Here he desired to repose in quiet until the junction of the detachment from Virginia, under Leslie, should enable him to resume his operations in North Carolina. But Marion and Sumpter, continuing unchanged amid the despondency which the disasters of August had produced, boldly pushed their disturbing inroads into the enemy's territory. With a force fluctuating from fifty to two hundred and fifty men, Marion held himself in his recesses on the Pedee and Black rivers; whence he darted upon the enemy whenever an opportunity presented. He not only kept in check all the small parties of the enemy, whom the want of forage and provisions, or the desire of plunder, occasionally urged into the region east and south of Cambden; but he often passed the Santee, interrupting the communication with Charleston, and sometimes alarming the small posts in its vicinity. To such a height had his interruption reached, that Cornwallis turned his attention to the subject. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton was despatched with his legion and the light infantry, with orders to find out Marion's haunts, and to destroy him. Having passed the Santee and approached the Black river, this officer exerted himself to bring Marion to action; but the American partizan, having ascertained the very superior force of his adversary, acted so as to elude all the attempts made to entrap him. At length Tarleton contrived, by his maneuvers, to circulate an opinion that, by detachments from his corps, he had very much reduced its force. This rumor, as was intended, soon reached Marion; who was always willing to seize every opportunity of striking at his antagonist. Presuming that Tarleton was reduced to an equality with himself, he cheerfully relinquished his occult asylum, wishing to give battle to his adversary. His caution and vigilance were not intermitted; and discovering that he was proceeding upon erroneous intelligence, he skilfully withdrew to his unassailable position, leaving Tarleton to deplore the inefficacy of his wiles and toils.

While Marion engaged the attention of Cornwallis, whose cavalry and artillery were drawn to the east of the Santee, Sumpter hovered on the west of that river, searching for some vulnerable point to assail. This officer, equally enterprising and indefatigable with his compeer, had the mountainous country of the Carolinas to draw upon for assistance. He had, therefore, the advantage of Marion in numbers; sometimes commanding five hundred, and at others eight hundred, men. When lord Cornwallis became acquainted with the approach of Sumpter, major Wemyss was detached in pursuit of him, with the sixty-third regiment, and the remains, about forty in number, of the legion cavalry. The American general having displayed, on past occasions, a character of more boldness than vigilance, the British officer was inspired with a hope of surprising him; and directed his march, with great secrecy, to Broad river, where Sumpter was encamped. The silent celerity with which Wemyss advanced, brought him, sooner than he intended, to the vicinity of his enemy; and, apprehending that Sumpter might be apprised, before morning, of his proximity, he determined on a nocturnal attack. His corps was immediately formed for battle, and advanced on Sumpter's camp. Anxious to observe the condition of his foe, major Wemyss placed himself with the van officer, who soon fell on our piquet and threw them back on the main body, after a feeble resistance. Only five muskets were discharged; and, happily for us, two balls pierced the major, and disabled him from further exertion. The command devolved upon a subaltern, who, although unacquainted with the ground, and uninformed as to the plan, determined to press the attack.

He found Sumpter prepared to receive him; and very soon the contest terminated in the repulse of the British, who retired, leaving their commandant and twenty men on the ground.*

The American officer, satisfied with his success, did not pursue it; but crossed the Broad river, for the purpose of proceeding to the chief object of his expedition. He had concerted, with colonels Clarke and Banner, who commanded bands of mountaineers, measures for surprising Ninety-six. To cover that enterprise, he menaced Cambden; intending, by a forced march, to join Clarke and Banner on the west side of the Broad river. On the day following a junction was effected; and Sumpter, at the head of the combined forces, proceeded to the execution of his design. These occurrences excited in lord Cornwallis apprehensions for the safety of Ninety-six. Orders were instantly despatched, recalling Tarleton from his expedition against Marion, and directing him to proceed without delay against Sumpter. The sixty-third regiment, which had not yet returned from its unsuccessful enterprise, was ordered to join Tarleton as he advanced. As soon as that officer received the order of Cornwallis, he left his position in the vicinity of Black river, and hastened towards Ninety-six. Accustomed to quick movements, he arrived in the neighborhood of Sumpter before the latter had even heard of his advance. Pushing up the Ennoree river, Tarleton hoped to place himself in his enemy's rear; but, very luckily, a deserter from the British infantry had apprised the American general of his adversary's movement. Sumpter immediately drew off and passed the Ennoree, where the British van overtook a part of our rear guard, and handled it roughly. Sumpter continued to retreat, having the Tyger, one of the most rapid and obstructive rivers of that country, in his front. Tarleton, foreseeing that should his adversary pass the Tyger, there would be little prospect of bringing him to action, redoubled his exertions to overtake him. Well knowing the character of his foe, he had preserved his force in a compact order; but his apprehension that Sumpter might escape, his ardor in pursuit, and desire to continue the success with which his zeal had been generally crowned, impelled him to deviate from that prudent course. In the evening of the 20th of November, at the head of his cavalry, about one hundred and seventy in number, and eighty mounted infantry, of the sixty-third regiment, he dashed forward to bring Sumpter to battle, before the latter had passed the Tyger; and soon came in sight of his enemy, who had selected a strong position on Blackstock hill, on the eastern banks of the river. Here prudence would have dictated to colonel Tarleton a pause. The residue of the sixty-third regiment, the legion and light infantry, were following with all possible despatch; and in one hour might have joined him. There was no possibility of his enemy's escape without battle; and the cooperation of his infantry was indispensable to secure victory. But delay did not comport with the ardent zeal or experience of Tarleton; and he boldly advanced to the assault. " That part of the hill," says M'Kenzie, in his Strictures on the Campaigns of Tarleton, " to which the attack was directed was nearly perpendicular, with a small rivulet, brush wood, and a rail fence in front. The rear of the Americans, and part of their right flank, was secured by the river Tyger; and their left was covered by a large log barn, into which a considerable division of their force had been thrown, and from which, as the apertures between the logs served them for loop holes, they fired with security. British valor was conspicuous in this action; but no valor could surmount the obstacles that here stood in its way. Of the sixty-third regiment, the commanding officer, two others, and one third of the privates, fell.* Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, observing their situation, charged with his cavalry; but, unable to dislodge the enemy, either from the log barn on his right, or the height on his left, he was obliged to fall back. Lieutenant Skinner, with a presence of mind ever useful on such emergencies, covered the retreat of the sixty-third; and in this manner did the whole party continue to retire, till they formed a junction with their infantry, who were advancing to support them, leaving Sumpter in quiet possession of the field. This officer occupied the ground for several hours; but having received a severe wound, and knowing that the British would be reinforced before next morning, he thought it hazardous to wait. He accordingly retired, and taking his wounded men along with him, crossed the rapid river Tyger. The wounded of the British detachment were left to the mercy of their enemy; and it is doing but bare justice to general Sumpter to declare that the strictest humanity took place upon the present occasion: they were supplied with every comfort in his power." This faithful and plain relation was made from the representations of officers in the action. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, however, viewed his own conduct in the most favorable light; and not only considered the assault warrantable, but even claimed the victory. If the principle, on which his pretension is founded, be correct, nothing short of exterminating success can give title to victory. What more could the assailed party have done than to fight, to retain his ground, bury the dead, and take care of the enemy's wounded? Of his own wounded, general Sumpter had but four to take care of, and of his own dead, but three to bury. But he did not wait until colonel Tarleton might return with a superior force; and as Tarleton *did* return and occupy the field of battle on the day following, therefore Tarleton was the victor. Such logic does not merit refutation. But, however interested military disputants may contest the point, impartial posterity will concur in the conclusion of common sense, that Sumpter gained a decisive victory. A grievous wound suspended his personal exertions, and probably prevented him from improving his success. After performing the funeral rites of the dead, and placing the wounded of the enemy in the most comfortable condition in his power, he continued his retreat. His faithful associates, agreeably to usage, separated as soon as they reached their point of safety.

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* Major Wemyss was very remiss in not having opened his plan and views to his second in command; for it often happens that the first is stopped from service during the action. What might have been the issue of this enterprise had the British major properly informed his next in command with his plan, resources and expectations, cannot be determined; but no doubt can exist but that the effect of the assailing troops must have been diminished considerably by this culpable omission in the commandant.

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* Major Money, lieutenant Gibson, lieutenant Cope: the infantry amounted only to eighty. What presumption! to expect to dislodge an officer acknowledged to be the most brave, posted on ground chosen by himself, at the head of five or six hundred troops, whose valor had been often before tested, with one hundred and sixty, mostly dragoons. The British cavalry could not act with effect from the nature of the ground, as was evinced by the nugatory attempt made by lieutenant colonel Tarleton at their head.

Sumpter's wound, unfortunately for his country, long detained him from the field; but useful consequences continued to result from the deep impression of his example, from the spirit he had infused, and the experience gained under his guidance. Pickens, Harden, Clarke, and others, persevered in their arduous exertions. Frequently interrupting the communication between the different posts of the enemy, they obliged the British general to strengthen his stations, spread throughout the country, and thereby weaken his operative force.

Tarleton was no sooner recalled from the east of the Santee, than Marion emerged from his concealed retreat, traversed the country from Georgetown to

Cambden, and endangered the communication between them. Frequently crossing the Santee, he interrupted the intercourse between Charleston and Cambden; to secure which, an intermediate post had been established at Matte's hill, on the south side of the Congaree.

Thus, in this gloomy period, was resistance in the South continued; as embarrassing to the enemy, as exhilarating to the scattered refugees from South Carolina and Georgia. It produced in congress and the nation a solacing conviction, that the spirit of the people was not subdued; and promised, if seconded with vigor, and directed with wisdom, to restore the two lost states to the Union.

CHAPTER XX.

CORNWALLIS still held his position at Winnsborough, waiting for the expected reinforcement under Leslie, and devoting his attention to the repression of the daring enterprises, devised and executed by Marion, Sumpter, and their gallant associates.

In the meanwhile Gates was laboring with unceasing zeal and diligence to prepare a force, capable of meeting his successful adversary. Having collected the shattered remains of his army at Hillsborough, in pursuance of a regulation established by the commander in chief, the broken lines of Maryland and Delaware were compressed into one regiment, and placed under colonel Williams, of Maryland. The officers of cavalry had not been very successful in their efforts; for, but four complete troops could be formed from the relics of Bland, Moylan, and Baylor's regiments, when united with the new recruits. These were embodied, and placed under the command of lieutenant colonel Washington, of Virginia.* The supernumerary officers of Maryland and Delaware and of the cavalry were despatched to their respective states, for the purpose of recruiting. Brigadier Gest, who had so nobly seconded de Kalb on the fatal 16th of August, was charged with the direction of this service; there being no command for him with the army, in consequence of its reduced state. General Smallwood was retained as second to Gates. Morgan, the distinguished leader of the rifle corps, was promoted to the rank of brigadier by brevet, and repaired to the southern army. About the same time, the recruits of the Virginia line reached Hillsborough; and the remaining companies of Harrison's artillery also joined our army.

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* Lieutenant colonel Washington found among his difficulties that of acquiring proper swords not the least considerable; and hearing that the arsenal of his native state in Richmond abounded with dragoon swords, he despatched an officer to governor Jefferson, stating his wants, and soliciting relief.

The union of these several corps gave to general Gates about one thousand and four hundred continentals. The deliverance of North Carolina from the late invasion, by the fortunate victory of King's Mountain, afforded time for the government of the state to understand its real condition, and to prepare for the impending danger. A division of its militia had been called into the field under the command of the generals Sumner and Davidson, to which was united a volunteer corps under colonel Davie.

While Gates remained at Hillsborough, Sumner had taken post, with the militia, in the country washed by the Yadkin, the main branch of the Pedee. Smallwood was despatched to take charge of the troops in that quarter, while general Gates moved, with the continentals, to Charlotte. As soon as the headquarters of the American army were transferred to this place, Smallwood was advanced from the Yadkin to the Catawba; having brigadier Morgan, at the head of a corps of light troops, in his front.

The Pedee is the northern boundary of South Carolina; the Savannah is its limit on the southwest; and the Santee, whose main branch is the Catawba, is the intermediate of the three large rivers of that state. Just below Matte's, where the British had erected a small fortification, the Santee is formed by the confluence of the Wateree and the Congaree. The former of these rivers, descending from the north, runs through the hilly country, where it is called Catawba; and, passing Cambden, rolls on to its junction with the Congaree. The Congaree, after the union of its head branches, the Broad River and the Saluda, takes a southern direction.

The position now taken by Gates, and the arrangement of his force, presented a strong contrast of his former conduct; and afforded a consoling presumption, that he had discovered his past error, and had profited by the correction of adversity.* Neither congress nor the nation were reconciled, however, to the severe blow, which our arms had sustained under his guidance. The annihilation, in a few hours, of an army, from which much had been expected, was a sufficient cause of investigation and inquietude: and when that misfortune, in the exhausted and worried condition of the people, was followed by a necessity of replacing the lost force, or of submitting to the subjugation of an important portion of the Union, the most awful and afflicting sensations were unavoidably excited. Congress entertained, indeed, a high respect for the unfortunate general, and a grateful recollection of his past services; but that homage, however merited, could not, and ought not, to suppress those inquiries, which always follow miscarriage or misfortune, where the sovereign power is careful of the public good. It was, moreover, necessary to check the conqueror; and two lost states were to be recovered. To effect such important objects, a general, obscured by adversity, was, though of respectable talents, inadequate; it required the fire of superior genius, aided by an untarnished reputation, to reanimate despondency, restore confidence, and turn the current of adversity.

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* When general Gates was about to set out from Virginia for the South, his old acquaintance and fellow soldier, general Charles Lee, waited on him to take leave; and pressing him by the hand, bade him to bear in mind, that the laurels of the North must not be exchanged for the willow of the South.

Such reflections daily gained strength; and congress, at length, resolved, that a court of inquiry should examine into the conduct of major general Gates, commanding in the southern department, and that the commander in chief should, in the interim, appoint a successor. This unpleasant resolution was immediately transmitted to general Gates at Charlotte; and he prepared to obey the summons of the court, as soon as his successor should arrive and assume the duties of command. In the meanwhile, he continued, with unremitting exertion, his preparations for resisting the enemy, by endeavoring to discover their force and plans, by collecting magazines of provision, and stimulating the governments of North Carolina and Virginia to a timely contribution of their aids. Happy, if his efforts should smooth the way for a more prosperous course to his successor, he acted, throughout this disagreeable period, with intelligence, assiduity and zeal.

Washington did not long deliberate on the appointment which he was directed to make. Major general Greene had served under him from the commencement of the war, and from that period had enjoyed his unvarying confidence and esteem. In a time of extreme derangement and difficulty, he had been called to the station of quartermaster general, in which he acquitted himself with consummate ability. He commanded the division of the army opposed to lieutenant general Knyphausen, at Springfield, in 1780, and acquired, as he merited, distinguished applause.

We have before seen, that he checked the advance of the British with Weedon's brigade in the close of the battle of Brandywine; that he was opposed to lord Cornwallis in New Jersey, when the maintenance of the obstruction to the navigation of the Delaware was ardently pursued by the commander in chief; and that he commanded the left wing of the army at the action of Germantown. He was honored at the battle of Monmouth with the direction of the right wing, which was conducted much to his credit, and to the annoyance of the enemy. He was under Sullivan in the invasion of Rhode Island, and contributed very much to the excellent retreat which became necessary. Indeed, so manifold and important were his services, that he became a very highly trusted counsellor of the commander in chief; respected for his sincerity, prized for his disinterestedness, and valued for his wisdom. It followed, of course, when calamity thickened, and the means of resistance grew thin, that Greene should be summoned to break the force of the one, and to nerve the imbecility of the other.

He was accordingly nominated by Washington to the command of the southern army.

Congress passed a resolution, incorporating the states of Delaware and Maryland with the southern department, and the commander in chief detached, from his army, lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, to the south. This corps consisted of three troops of horse, and three companies of infantry, giving a total of three hundred and fifty effectives. But it was not complete; and after its arrival in the South, gradually diminished. Such was the debilitated condition of our military force, that only this trifling reinforcement could be spared to a general, charged with the arduous task of saving Virginia and North Carolina, and of reannexing to the Union the states south of them.

What better testimony could be furnished of our fitness, at that time, for the repose of peace! but it was necessary to prosecute the war with zeal and vigor, or the great prize for which the confederate states were struggling would be lost, or but partially gained. The enemy's strength had also very much dwindled, and his replenishment of the waste of war was not exempt from difficulty. He had to contend by sea and by land with potent nations, and to spread his force in every quarter of the globe. Such was the effect of our alliance with the house of Bourbon, and the result of Gates' victory at Saratoga.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL GREENE, after employing a few days in preparing for his journey, relinquished, with reluctance, his inferior station to take upon himself the honorable though weighty command to which he had been called. He passed through the states of Maryland and Delaware, for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the assistance to be obtained from that quarter.

Here he was informed that brigadier Gest had been indefatigably engaged in executing the trust reposed in him; but such was the difficulty at this period of procuring recruits as to forbid the expectation of filling up the regiments without the substitution of some new mode. On this, and all other subjects, connected with his duty, he held full and free conferences with the state governments; and having made his final arrangements, pursued his journey to Richmond, the capital of Virginia.

This state was properly considered the fountain of southern resistance. Her relative antiquity, the stock of loyalty for which she had been always distinguished, her well known obedience to law and hatred of change, had convinced the wavering and the doubting, that our resistance was just, and consistent with the great charter of British liberty. Thus, by the sanction of her authority, she had stripped resistance of its imaginary horrors. The extent of her domain, the value of her products, the vigor of her councils, and the political fame she had acquired in the first congress by a happy selection of delegates, placed her high in the respect and confidence of her sister states.* The uniform sample of wisdom, exhibited by her deputies in that body, inspired the nation with exalted sentiments of the place of their nativity. To the hand of one of her sons had been committed the sword of defence, and from the lips of another, in obedience to the commands of his constituents, was proposed our independence. Although the most ancient and loyal of the colonies, she had, in our just war, been uniformly decisive and active; and though not particularly injured by the first hostile acts of parliament, she nevertheless kept pace with Massachusetts, the devoted object of ministerial vengeance, in the incipient steps of resistance. Thus distinguished, she was marked as a peculiar victim by the common enemy. Happily for herself, as well as for the Union, few of her inhabitants had taken side with the mother country; and most of those few in the first stage of the revolution, had left the state. Thus her undivided ability was employed in the firm maintenance of the war.

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* The selection of our first deputies establishes an important truth, that the people in danger, and free from the distraction of feuds and factions, will always act wisely. When distracted by feud and severed by faction, they will rarely do so. The Virginia assembly made its first election of delegates exempt from the art and rage of faction. They were Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Richard H. Lee, Patrick Henry, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Bland, and Benjamin Harrison.

As soon as sir Henry Clinton took the command of the British army, the humbling of Virginia became a leading object of his plans. For, by maiming her strength, he lessened her ability to give support and countenance to that section of the states which he had then selected as the principal theatre of the war. A devastating expedition had been successfully prosecuted under general Matthews; and as soon as the defeat of general Gates was known at New York, Leslie, as has been mentioned, was detached with three thousand men to the Chesapeak, for the purpose of cooperating with lord Cornwallis, then expected to have been considerably advanced in completing the conquest of North Carolina.

When Greene reached Richmond, he found the government engaged in preparing means of defence against Leslie, who had established himself at Portsmouth. Relying upon this state for his principal support in men and stores, he was sensibly affected by the difficulties in which he found her. But active and intelligent, penetrating and laborious, he persevered in his exertions. Having brought his arrangements to a satisfactory conclusion, he proceeded south, leaving major general Baron Steuben* to direct the defence of Virginia, and to superintend the reinforcements preparing for the southern army. From Richmond he hastened to Hillsborough, the seat of government of North Carolina. Here he found the executive, apprised of the dangers by which the state was threatened, well disposed to exert their authority in preparing means to resist the advancing enemy. This state very much resembles Virginia in the manners and habits of the people, so much so as to induce the conclusion of its being settled principally by emigrants from that state. Its population, though double that of South Carolina, was very disproportionate to the extent of its territory.

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* This officer was a Prussian by birth, and had passed his youth in arms during the war of 1754, chiefly under the orders of prince Henry, brother to the great Frederick, and his rival in military celebrity. Towards the close of that war, Steuben had been introduced

North Carolina is watered by many rivers; few of which are navigable for ships. Cape Fear is the most considerable; and that only navigable to Wilmington, situated not very distant from the sea. In a state of war, when naval superiority is conclusively in favor of the enemy, as was the case in our contest, this privation of nature was replete with advantage to us, though extremely incommodious in peace. This state is only

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duced into the family of the prince, whose confidence and esteem he enjoyed for ever after. On his arrival he attracted the consideration of congress, and was soon promoted to the station of inspector general of the army, with the rank of major general. To him we are indebted for the great proficiency in tactics acquired by the troops in 1777, 1778 at Valley Forge. He was singularly useful in this line, and much respected for his military experience. Faithful and honorable, he supported the cause of his adopted country with the ardor of youth, gained high confidence with the commander in chief, and was honored, on many occasions, with important trusts.

to be assailed with effect through Virginia or South Carolina, through each of which her foreign commerce passes. At present it was threatened on both sides, as Leslie still continued in Virginia, waiting, as was presumed, for the advance of lord Cornwallis. Although in this state, horses, bacon, Indian corn and beef, which constitute the most essential supplies of an army, could be found in abundance, yet, from the thinness of population, the collection of them was inconvenient.

The mountainous region of North Carolina was inhabited by a race of hardy men, who were familiar with the use of the horse and rifle, were stout, active, patient under privation, and brave. Irregular in their movements, and unaccustomed to restraint, they delighted in the fury of action, but pined under the servitude and inactivity of camp. True to the American cause, they displayed an impetuous zeal, whenever their wild and ardent temper prompted the contribution of their aid. In the middle and Atlantic sections lived a race, less capable of labor, and less willing to endure it; who were much divided in political opinions, and incumbered with that dreadful evil,* which the cruel policy of preceding times had introduced.†

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* Negro slavery.

† The constitution of the United States, adopted lately with so much difficulty, has effectually provided against this evil (by importation,) after a few years. This single benevolent, and judicious trait ought to have recommended that instrument strongly to the pious and amiable throughout the Union, and to the slave

holder-

The prospect of efficient aid from a state so situated, was not encouraging. But the fertile genius of Greene, deriving new influence from his conciliating manners, soon laid the foundation of a support, which would have been completely adequate to his purpose, had the quality of the troops corresponded with their number. Having finished his preparatory measures, he hastened to Charlotte, pleased with the hope of rescuing the state from the impending calamities. On the 2d of December, he reached the army, and was received by general Gates with the most cordial respect. The translation of the command was announced in general orders on the ensuing day. After devoting a short time to those communications, which were essential to the information of his successor, Gates took leave of the army, and proceeded to meet the inquiry into his conduct, which had been ordered by congress. His progress was slow, his manners were grave, his demeanor was condescending, his conversation reserved. On his long road, no countenance shed the balm of condolence; all were gloomy, all scowling. The fatal loss on the 16th of August was acutely remembered;

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holder of every description. Yet in most of the slave states it was pertinaciously opposed.

It is much to be lamented, that having done so much good in this way, a provision had not been made for the gradual abolition of slavery. In a state of war, what can be more dreadful than the conviction, that we have in our bosoms an inveterate enemy ready to turn upon us in our beds, whenever opportunity and instigation shall prompt to the execution of the bloody tragedy? yet this is the state of the Union south of Susquehanna.

but the important victory of Saratoga was forgotten. The unfortunate general at length reached Richmond, where the general assembly of Virginia was in session.* Great and good men then governed the state.

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* Extract from the minutes of the house of delegates.

Thursday, 28th December, 1780.

" Resolved, that a committee of four be appointed to wait on major general Gates, and to assure him of the high regard and esteem of this house; that the remembrance of his former glorious services cannot be obliterated by any reverse of fortune, but that this house, ever mindful of his great merit, will omit no opportunity of testifying to the world the gratitude which, as a member of the American Union, this country owes him in his military character."

And the said resolution being read a second time, was, on the question put thereupon, agreed to by the house nemine contradicente.

Ordered, that Mr. Henry, Mr. R. H. Lee, Mr. Yane, and general Nelson, be appointed of the said committee.

Friday, 29th December, 1780.

Mr. Henry reported from the committee appointed to communicate the resolution of the house of yesterday to major general Gates, that the committee had, according to order, communicated the same to that gentleman; and that he had been pleased to return the following answer.

Richmond, 28th December, 1780.

I shall remember, with the utmost gratitude, the honor this day done me by the honorable house of delegates of Virginia. When I engaged in the cause of freedom, and of the United States, I devoted myself entirely to the service of obtaining the great end of this Union. The having been once unfortunate is my great mortification; but let the event of my future services

be

Instructed by history, guided by the dictates of virtue, and grateful for eminent services, they saw a wide difference between misfortune and criminality, and weighed the exploits in the North against the disasters in the South. These fathers of the commonwealth appointed a committee of their body to wait on the vanquished general, and "to assure him of their high regard and esteem: that their remembrance of his former glorious services was never to be obliterated by any reverse of fortune; but, ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of testifying to the world the gratitude which Virginia, as a member of the American Union, owed to him in his military character."

General Gates had supported his fall from splendid elevation to obscurity, with apparent fortitude and complacency. He was sensibly affected, and comforted by this kind reception, and retired to his farm in the county of Berkeley, where the keen regrets of disappointment and misfortune were softened by the soothing occupations of agriculture, and the condolence of the state in which he resided.*

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be what it may, they will, as they always have been, be directed by the most faithful integrity, and animated by the purest zeal for the honor and interest of the United States.

HORATIO GATES.

* This conduct comes nearest to that of the Roman senate, who thanked Varro, the author of the defeat at Cannæ, for returning to Rome, and for not having despaired of the commonwealth. A magnanimity unequalled in the history of nations.

The dignified and wise policy of the Virginia legislature was highly honorable to that body, and furnishes an instructive lesson to sovereigns. Amiable and enlightened as is such conduct, it is, nevertheless, uncommon; and our revolutionary records furnish no similar instance. Washington, indeed, uniformly experienced the gratitude of congress, and of the state assemblies; and their resolves of approbation sometimes followed his defeats. But the judgment and circumspection displayed by the commander in chief, even in his most severe disasters, manifested the propriety of his conduct, and the necessity of the risk he incurred. Never did this general precipitately seek action; but when it became unavoidable, he prepared himself, in the best practicable manner, for the conflict. Limiting, by his foresight, the extent of his loss, guarding, by his disposition, security of retreat, and repairing with celerity the injury sustained,* his relative condition was often meliorated, although victory adorned the brow of his adversary. Very different had been the conduct of general Gates in Carolina, and very different was the result on the 16th of August.

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* This fact was eminently illustrated by the battle of Germantown. Sir William Howe gained the day, but the advantages which resulted from the action were evidently on the side of Washington. The British general gave up the small section of the country he held, and submitted to the inconveniences of a position around Philadelphia. Exchanging an open country for the suburbs of the city, salubrity for insalubrity, and drawing upon his troops the additional labor of field works, to put himself safe, while pursuing his measures for the restoration of the river navigation.

Washington rivalled the magnanimity which the general assembly of Virginia had displayed. Although he remembered the dilatory advance of a portion of the northern army to his succor, when that succor was indispensable and expected; although he remembered that its commander had dared to trifle with his mandate; and was not insensible that this conduct had proceeded from a settled design to supplant him in his high station; yet he repressed the feelings which such recollections would naturally have excited in most breasts, and with all the delicacy of superior virtue extended his condolence, to assuage the asperity which clings to misfortune. With a hope that the speedy termination of the war might preclude the necessity of an investigation, so mortifying to a soldier still proud of his former fame, though fallen in public estimation, general Washington compassionately deferred the assembling of the court. The war soon afterwards closed, and the prosecution of the inquiry necessarily ceased.*

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* Mr. Marshall, in his Life of Washington, has treated this interesting transaction with peculiar attention. The correspondence between the two generals, with which this writer has favored the public, is so characteristic, that I cannot refrain from transcribing it.

Albany, December 18th, 1777.

Sir,

I shall not attempt to describe, what, as a private gentleman, I cannot help feeling, on representing to my mind the disagreeable situation, which confidential letters, when exposed to public inspection, may place an unsuspecting correspondent in; but as a public officer I conjure your excellency to give me all the assistance you can, in tracing out the author of the infidelity which put extracts from general Conway's letters to me into your hands. These letters have been stealingly copied; but which of them, when, or by whom, is to me, as yet, an unfathomable secret. There is not one officer in my suite, or amongst those who have free access to me, upon whom I could, with the least justification to myself, fix the suspicion; and yet my uneasiness may deprive me of the usefulness of the worthiest men. It is, I believe, in your excellency's power to do me and the United States a very important service, in detecting a wretch who may betray me, and capitally injure the very operations under your immediate direction. For this reason, sir, I beg your excellency will favor me with the proofs you can procure to that effect. But the crime being eventually so important, that the least loss of time may be attended with the worst consequences, and it being unknown to me, whether the letter came to you from a member of congress, or from an officer, I shall have the honor of transmitting a copy of this to the president, that congress may, in concert with your excellency, obtain, as soon as possible, a discovery which deeply affects the safety of the states. Crimes of that magnitude ought not to remain unpunished.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With the greatest respect,
your excellency's most humble
and most obedient servant,
HORATIO GATES.

His excellency general WASHINGTON.

Valley Forge, January 14th, 1778.

SIR,

Your letter of the 18th ultimo came to my hands a few days ago, and to my great surprise informed me, that a copy of it had been sent to congress; for what reason I find myself unable to account; but as some end doubtless was intended to be answered by by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any member of that body should harbor some unfavorable suspicion of my having practised some indirect means to come at the contents of the confidential letters between you and general Conway.

I am to inform you then, that *********** on his way to congress, in the month of October last, fell in with lord Stirling at Reading; and not in confidence that I ever understood, informed his aid-de-camp, major M'Williams, that general Conway had written thus to you: "Heaven has been determined to save your country; or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." Lord Stirling, from motives of friendship, transmitted the account with this remark: "The inclosed was communicated by *********** to major M'Williams; such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect."

In consequence of this information, and without having any thing more in view, than merely to show that gentleman that I was not unapprised of his intriguing disposition, I wrote him a letter in these words: "Sir, a letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph: 'in a letter from general Conway to general Gates he says, Heaven has determined to save your country; or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it.' I am sir, &c."

Neither the letter nor the information which occasioned it was ever, directly or indirectly, communicated by me to a single officer in the army, (out of my own family) excepting the marquis de la Fayètte, who, having been spoken to on the subject by general Conway, applied for, and saw, under injunctions of secrecy, the letter which contained this. So desirous was I of concealing every matter that could, in its consequences, give the smallest interruption to the tranquillity of this army, or afford a gleam of hope to the enemy by dissensions therein.

I trust, sir, with that openness and candor which I hope will ever characterize and mark my conduct, I have complied with your request. The only concern I feel upon the occasion, finding how

how matters stand, is, that in doing this I have been necessarily obligated to name a gentleman, who, I am persuaded, (although I never exchanged a word with him upon the subject) thought he was rather doing an act of justice than committing an act of infidelity; and sure I am, that until lord Stirling's letter came to my hands, I never knew that general Conway (whom I viewed in the light of a stranger to you) was a correspondent of yours; much less did I suspect that I was the subject of your confidential letters. Pardon me then for adding, that so far from conceiving that the safety of the states can be affected, or in the smallest degree injured, by a discovery of this kind, or that I should be called upon in such solemn terms to point out the author, that I considered the information as coming from yourself, and given with a friendly view to forewarn, and consequently to forearm, me against a secret enemy; or in other words, a dangerous incendiary: in which character, sooner or later, this country will know general Conway. But in this, as well as other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To major general GATES.

Whatever part general Conway may have taken in this flagitious attempt, whether principal or secondary, is not ascertained; but he had gone far enough to warrant the commander in chief in denouncing him a " dangerous incendiary."

Nevertheless, justice requires that I should add, that this officer was among the most respectable and the most experienced of the many French gentlemen who joined the American army; and that he afterwards made, to his much injured commander, the best amends in his power, as is manifested by the following letter, written after resignation of his commission, and when he expected to die in consequence of a wound received in a duel with general Cadwallader, produced by his animadversions on the commander in chief.

Philadelphia, February 23d, 1778.

Sir,

I find myself just able to hold my pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief, for having done, written, or said, any thing disagreeable to your excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, esteem, and veneration of these states, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

I am, with the greatest respect,
your excellency's most obedient humble servant,
Ph. Conway."

The following letter should have been inserted as a note at page 226, of this volume, after the words "Major general Greene," but was accidentally omitted.

Headquarters, Passaic Falls, October 22d, 1780.

Dear Sir,

In consequence of a resolve of congress, directing an inquiry into the conduct of major general Gates, and authorizing me to appoint some other officer in his place during this inquiry, I have made choice of major general Greene, who will, I expect, have the honor of presenting you with this letter.

I shall, without scruple, introduce this gentleman to you as a man of abilities, bravery and coolness. He has a comprehensive knowledge of our affairs, and is a man of fortitude and resources. I have not the smallest doubt, therefore, of his employing all the means which may be put into his hands to the best advantage, nor of his assisting in pointing out the most likely ones to answer the purposes of his command. With this character I take the liberty of recommending him to your civilities and support; for I have no doubt, from the embarrassed situation of southern affairs, of his standing much in need of the latter, from every gentleman of influence in the assemblies of those states.

As general Greene can give you the most perfect information in detail of our present distresses, and future prospects, I shall content myself with the aggregate account of them: and, with respect to the first, they are so great and complicated, that it is scarcely within the powers of description to give an adequate idea of them. With regard to the second, unless there is a material change both in our civil and military policy, it will be in vain to contend much longer.

We are without money, and have been so for a long time: without provision and forage, except what is taken by impress: without clothing, and shortly shall be (in a manner) without men. In a word, we have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer; and it may truly be said, that the history of this war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices instead of system,—and economy, which results from it.

If we mean to continue our struggles (and it is to be hoped we shall not relinquish our claims) we must do it upon an entire new plan. We must have a permanent force; not a force that is constantly fluctuating, and sliding from under us, as a pedestal of ice would leave a statue in a summer's day; involving us in expense that baffles all calculation, an expense which no funds are equal to. We must at the same time contrive ways and means to aid our taxes by loans, and put our finances upon a more certain and stable footing than they are at present. Our civil government must likewise undergo a reform; ample powers must be lodged in congress as the head of the Federal Union, adequate to all the purposes of war. Unless these things are done, our efforts will be in vain, and only serve to accumulate expense, add to our perplexities, and dissatisfy the people, without a prospect of obtaining the prize in view. But these sentiments do not appear well in a hasty letter, without digestion or order. I have not time to give them otherwise, and shall only assure you that they are well meant, however crude they may appear. With sincere affection,

I am, dear sir,

your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GEORGE MASON, Esq.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL GREENE directed his whole attention to the high duties of his command. On reviewing his army, he found its total not more than two thousand, of which the major part was militia. Notwithstanding the exertions of his predecessor to establish magazines, he found three days' provision only on hand, and the country around him exhausted. His supply of ammunition was very scanty; and Virginia was the nearest point, from which a replenishment could be obtained.

Such means and resources badly comported with the grand design of arresting the progress of the conqueror, and restoring the two lost states to the Union. Capable of doing much with little, Greene was not discouraged by this unfavorable prospect. His vivid plastic genius soon operated on the latent elements of martial capacity in his army, invigorated its weakness, turned its confusion into order, and its despondency into ardor. A wide sphere of intellectual resource enabled him to inspire confidence, to rekindle courage, to decide hesitation, and infuse a spirit of exalted patriotism in the citizens of the state. By his own example, he showed the incalculable value of obedience, of patience, of vigilance and temperance. Dispensing justice, with an even hand, to the citizen and soldier;

benign in heart, and happy in manners; he acquired the durable attachment and esteem of all. He collected around his person, able and respectable officers; and selected, for the several departments, those who were best qualified to fill them. His operations were then commenced with a boldness of design, well calculated to raise the drooping hopes of his country, and to excite the respect of his enemy.

This illustrious man had now reached his thirty-eighth year. In person he was rather corpulent, and above the common size. His complexion was fair and florid; his countenance serene and mild, indicating a goodness which seemed to shade and soften the fire and greatness of its expression. His health was delicate, but preserved by temperance and regularity.

The British army still remained at Winnsborough. General Greene determined to draw in the detachment under Smallwood, which was advanced some distance in his front, and to risk the division of his force by taking two distant positions on each flank of the British army.

Previous to this movement, brigadier Morgan, who commanded the van of Smallwood's detachment, attempted to strike a foraging party of the enemy, which had penetrated the country between the two armies. But the vigilant adversary eluded the blow, and returned in safety to Cambden. Lieutenant colonel Washington, at the head of the cavalry, having taken a more extensive range than the infantry, discovered that a party of loyalists were stationed at Rudgley's farm, about twelve miles from Cambden. He moved instantly towards them, in expectation of carrying the post by surprise; but in this he was disappointed, as they occupied a barn, surrounded by abattis, and secure from any attempt of cavalry. Rudgley and his friends were delighted with the safety their precaution had produced, and viewed the approach of horse with indifference. Short was their repose. Washington, well informed of the character of his enemy, shaped the trunk of a tree in imitation of a field piece; and, bringing it up in military style, affected to prepare to canonade the barn. To give solemnity to the device, he sent in a flag, warning the garrison of the impending destruction, which could be only avoided by immediate submission. Not prepared to resist artillery, colonel Rudgley seized with promptitude the auspicious opportunity; and, with his garrison, one hundred men, surrendered at discretion! No circumstance can more strongly demonstrate the propriety of using every effort in war. A soldier should intimately know the character of his enemy, and mould his measures accordingly. This stratagem of Washington, although conceived and executed with little hope of success, was completely successful; and enabled him to effect an object, which, at first view, most would have abandoned as clearly unattainable.

The return of Smallwood's detachment to camp was followed by the immediate departure of the army from Charlotte. The division, intended for operations in the western quarter, was composed of four hundred continental infantry under lieutenant colonel Howard, of the Maryland line, two companies of the Virginia militia under captains Triplett and Taite, and the remnants of the first and third regiments of dragoons, one hundred in number, under lieutenant colonel Washington. It was placed under the care of brigadier general Morgan, who was to be strengthened on his march by bodies of mountain militia from Carolina and Georgia. He was ordered to pass the Catawba, and take post in the country between the Broad and Pacolet rivers. Greene, with the main body, moved down the Pedee, and took a position on its eastern bank, nearly opposite Cheraw hill. By this disposition, general Greene secured an abundance of wholesome provisions for his troops; afforded safe rendezvous for the militia in the East and West, on whose aid he necessarily relied; re-excited by his proximity the spirit of revolt, which preceding events had repressed; menaced the various posts of the enemy, and their intermediate communications; and compelled lord Cornwallis to postpone his advance into North Carolina, until he should have cleared the country to the west of his enemy. During brigadier Morgan's march, he received a part of the expected succor, amounting nearly to five hundred militia, under general Pickens; and passing the Broad river, he established himself near the point of its confluence with the Pacolet.

About the 13th of December, prior to Greene's departure from Charlotte, major general Leslie arrived with his detachment at Charleston, where he found orders to repair with one thousand five hundred of his troops to Cambden. As Leslie was approaching this place, lord Cornwallis learned the disposition of the hostile army, and about the end of December became acquainted with the progress of Morgan. Greene was seventy miles to his right, and Morgan fifty on his left. Lord Cornwallis began to apprehend a design on Ninety-six; and determined to direct his first steps against Morgan, lest the junction of numerous bodies of mountain militia, with that enterprising officer, should enable him to destroy all communication with Augusta, and finally to carry that post, if not Ninety-six. The legion horse and foot, the light infantry attached to it, the seventh regiment and first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, with two field pieces, were put in motion under lieutenant colonel Tarleton. The first object was to protect Ninety-six; and the next, to bring Morgan to battle, or repel him into North Carolina.

Soon after general Greene had taken his position opposite to Cheraw hill, lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, making about two hundred and eighty in horse and foot, joined the army. This corps, being in excellent condition, was, on the next day ordered to cross the Pedee, in order to support brigadier Marion, who continued to interrupt and harass the enemy's posts between the Pedee and the Santee. In a few days after Lee's junction with Marion, they projected an enterprise against the garrison of Georgetown, a small village in South Carolina, situated on the bay into which the Pedee empties. Colonel Campbell commanded in this town, with a garrison of two hundred men. In his front he had prepared some slight defences, better calculated to repel a sudden, than resist a determined, assault. Between these defences and the town, and contiguous to each, was an inclosed work with a frize and palisade, which constituted his chief protection. A subaltern guard held it. The rest of the troops were dispersed in light parties in and near the town, looking towards the country. The plan of assault was founded on the facility with which the assailant might convey down the Pedee a part of his force undiscovered, and land in the water suburb of the town, which, being always deemed secure, was consequently unguarded. After this body should have reached the wharves, it was to move in two divisions. The first was to force the commandant's quarters, known to be the place of parade, then to secure him, and all who might flock thither on the alarm. The second was to be charged with the interception of such of the garrison as might attempt to gain the fort, their chief point of safety on annoyance. The militia and cavalry of the legion, under Marion and Lee, were to approach near the town in the night; and when the entrance of the infantry, passed down by water, should be announced, they were to rush into it for co-operation and support.

The plan being approved by general Greene, preparations were immediately made for its execution. The infantry of the legion were embarked in boats, under the command of captain Carnes, with orders to fall down the Pedee to a designated island, during the first night; to land and lay concealed there the ensuing day; to reembark at an early hour of the night following, and reach Georgetown between one and two in the morning. Marion and Lee proceeded to their destination, having taken all the requisite precautions to prevent any intimation to the enemy of their approach. At twelve o'clock in the second night, they occupied, unperceived, a position in the vicinity of the town, and waited anxiously for the annunciation of Carne's arrival. This officer met with no difficulty in descending the river, and reached the appointed island before dawn of light. He remained there the ensuing day; and so unusual is inland navigation in South Carolina, so impervious are the deep swamps which line its rivers, that he might have sojourned for weeks on the island without discovery. Gaining his place of destination with precision in point of time, he landed unperceived, and instantly advanced to the quarters of lieutenant colonel Campbell. The commandant was secured; and Carnes judiciously posted his division for seizing such parties of the garrison as might flock to the parade ground. Captain Rudolph, who led the second division, with equal good fortune gained the vicinity of the fort; and arranged his troops on the route of communication, in order to arrest the fugitives. On the first fire, which took place at the commandant's quarters, the militia of Marion and the dragoons of Lee rushed into the town, prepared to bear down all resistance. To the astonishment of these officers, every thing was quiet; the legion infantry holding its assigned stations, and lieutenant colonel Campbell a prisoner. Not a British soldier appeared; not one attempted either to gain the fort, or repair to the commandant. Having discovered their enemy, the troops of the garrison kept close to their respective quarters, barricaded the doors, and determined there to defend themselves. The assailants were unprovided with the requisite implements for battering doors and scaling windows. The fort was in possession of the enemy, and daylight approaching. Marion and Lee were therefore compelled to retire with a partial accomplishment of their object. Colonel Campbell was suffered to remain on parole; and the troops withdrew from Georgetown, unhurt and unannoyed. The plan of this enterprise, although conceived with ingenuity, and executed with precision, was too refined and complicated for success. Marion and Lee were singularly tender of the lives of their soldiers; and preferred moderate success, with little loss, to the most brilliant enterprise, with the destruction of many of their troops. This principle is wise and commendable; but, when carried too far, it is sure to produce disappointment. If, instead of placing Rudolph's division to intercept the fugitives, it had been ordered to carry the fort by the bayonet, our success would have been complete. The fort taken, and the commandant a prisoner, we might have availed ourselves of the canon, and have readily demolished every obstacle and shelter.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SOON after Tarleton had been detached in pursuit of Morgan, the British general put his army in motion. Having in view the interception of Morgan, should he elude Tarleton; and preferring to advance into North Carolina on the upper route, to avoid as much as possible the obstructions, usual at that season, from the rising of water courses; Cornwallis directed his march between the Catawba and Broad river. To keep in doubt the plan of our enemy, general Leslie had been continued at Cambden; but he was now directed to move on the eastern side of the Wateree and Catawba, parallel to his lordship's route.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton lost no time in approaching his enemy. Morgan was duly apprised of his advance, and of the movement of the British army. At the head of troops, able and willing to fight, he was rather disposed to meet than to avoid his foe; and would probably have resolved on immediate action, had he not felt the danger of delay in consequence of Cornwallis's advance up the Catawba. Nevertheless he indicated a desire to dispute the passage of the Pacolet, to which Tarleton was fast approaching; but he relinquished this plan, in consequence of the enemy's having passed the river on his left, and retired with a degree of precipitation, which proved how judiciously the British commandant had taken his first steps. Tarleton passed through the ground, on which Morgan had been encamped, a few hours after the latter had abandoned it; and, leaving his baggage under a guard with orders to follow with convenient expedition, he pressed forward throughout the night in pursuit of the retiring foe. After a severe march through a rugged country, he came in sight of his enemy about eight o'clock in the morning (January 17, 1781); and having taken two of our videts, he learned that Morgan had halted at the Cowpens, not far in front, and some distance from the Broad river. Presuming that Morgan would not risk action unless driven to it, Tarleton determined, fatigued as his troops were, instantly to advance on his enemy, lest he might throw his corps safe over the Broad river.

Morgan, having been accustomed to fight and to conquer, did not relish the eager and interrupting pursuit of his adversary; and sat down at the Cowpens to give rest and refreshment to his harassed troops, with a resolution no longer to avoid action, should his enemy persist in pressing it. Being apprised at the dawn of day of Tarleton's advance, he instantly prepared for battle. This decision grew out of irritation of temper, which appears to have overruled the suggestions of his sound and discriminating judgment. The ground about the Cowpens is covered with open wood, admitting the operation of cavalry with facility, in which the enemy trebled Morgan. His flanks had no resting place, but were exposed to be readily turned; and the Broad river ran parallel to his rear, forbidding the hope of a safe retreat in the event of disaster. Had Morgan crossed this river, and approached the mountain, he would have gained a position disadvantageous to cavalry, but convenient for riflemen; and would have secured a less dangerous retreat. But these cogent reasons, rendered more forcible by his inferiority in numbers, could not prevail. Confiding in his long tried fortune, conscious of his personal superiority in soldiership, and relying on the skill and courage of his troops, he adhered to his resolution. Erroneous as was the decision to fight in this position, when a better might have been easily gained, the disposition for battle was masterly.

Two light parties of militia, under major M'Dowel, of North Carolina, and major Cunningham, of Georgia, were advanced in front, with orders to feel the enemy as he approached; and, preserving a desultory well aimed fire as they fell back to the front line, to range with it and renew the conflict. The main body of the militia composed this line, with general Pickens at its head. At a suitable distance in the rear of the first line a second was stationed, composed of the continental infantry and two companies of Virginia militia, under captains Triplett and Taite,* commanded by lieutenant colonel Howard. Washington's cavalry, reinforced with a company of mounted militia armed with sabres, was held in reserve; convenient to support the infantry, and protect the horses of the rifle militia, which were tied agreeably to usage in the rear. On the verge of battle, Morgan availed himself of the short and awful interim to exhort his troops. First addressing himself, with his characteristic pith, to the line of militia, he extolled the zeal and bravery so often displayed by them, when unsupported with the bayonet or sword; and declared his confidence that they could not fail in maintaining their reputation, when supported by chosen bodies of horse and foot, and conducted by himself. Nor did he forget to glance at his unvarying fortune, and superior experience; or to mention how often, with his corps of riflemen, he had brought British troops, equal to those before him, to submission. He described the deep regret he had already experienced in being obliged, from prudential considerations, to retire before an enemy always in his power; exhorted the line to be firm and steady; to fire with good aim; and if they would pour in but two volleys at killing distance, he would take upon himself to secure victory. To the continentals, he was very

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* These two companies of militia were generally continental soldiers, who, having served the time of their enlistment, had returned home, regularly discharged.

A custom for some time past prevailed, which gave to us the aid of such soldiers. Voluntary proffer of service being no longer fashionable, the militia were drafted conformably to a system established by law; and whenever the lot fell upon the timid or wealthy, he procured, by a douceur, a substitute, who, for the most part, was one of those heretofore discharged.

brief. He reminded them of the confidence he had always reposed in their skill and courage; assured them that victory was certain if they acted well their part; and desired them not to be discouraged by the sudden retreat of the militia, *that* being part of his plan and orders. Then taking post with this line, he waited in stern silence for the enemy.

The British lieutenant colonel, urging forward, was at length gratified with the certainty of battle; and being prone to presume on victory, he hurried the formation of his troops. The light and legion infantry, with the seventh regiment, composed the line of battle; in the centre of which was posted the artillery, consisting of two grasshoppers; and a troop of dragoons was placed on each flank. The battalion of the seventy-first regiment, under major M'Arthur, with the remainder of the cavalry, formed the reserve. Tarleton placed himself with the line, having under him major Newmarsh, who commanded the seventh regiment. The disposition was not completed, when he directed the line to advance, and the reserve to wait further orders.* The American light parties quickly yielded, fell back, and arrayed with Pickens. The enemy, shouting, rushed forward upon the front line, which retained its station, and poured in a close fire; but, continuing to advance with the bayonet on our militia, they retired and gained with haste the second line. Here, with part of the corps, Pickens took post on Howard's right, and the rest fled to their horses; probably with orders to remove them to a further distance. Tarleton pushed forward, and was received by his adversary with unshaken firmness. The contest became obstinate; and each party, animated by the example of its leader, nobly contended for victory. Our line maintained itself so firmly, as to oblige the enemy to order up his reserve. The advance of M'Arthur reanimated the British line, which again moved forward; and, outstretching our front, endangered Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but, mistaking this order, the company fell back; upon which the line began to retire, and general Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This maneuvre being performed with precision, our flank became relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder; but as it drew near, Howard faced about, and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives.* A part of the enemy's cavalry, having gained our rear, fell on that portion of the militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus, by simultaneous efforts, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general. The British cavalry having taken no part in the action, except the two troops attached to the line, were in force to cover the retreat. This, however, was not done. The zeal of lieutenant colonel Washington in pursuit having carried him far before his squadron, Tarleton turned upon him with the troop of the seventeenth regiment of dragoons, seconded by many of his officers. The American lieutenant colonel was first rescued from this critical contest by one of his serjeants, and afterwards by a fortunate shot from his bugler's pistol.

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* Tarleton's cavalry are stated at three hundred and fifty, while that under Morgan did not exceed eighty.

Morgan's militia used rifles, and were expert marksmen: this corps composed nearly one half of his infantry.

Tarleton's detachment is put down at one thousand. Morgan, in a letter to general Greene, after his victory, gives his total at eight hundred.

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* "In the eagerness of pursuit Washington advanced near thirty yards in front of his regiment. Observing this, three British officers wheeled about, and made a charge upon him. The officer on his right was aiming to cut him down, when a serjeant came up and intercepted the blow by disabling his sword arm. At the same instant the officer on his left was also about to make a stroke at him, when a waiter, too small to wield a sword, saved him by wounding the officer with a ball, discharged from a pistol. At this moment the officer in the centre, who was believed to be Tarleton, made a thrust at him, which he parried; upon which the officer retreated a few paces, and then discharged a pistol at him, which wounded his knee." Marshall's Life of Washington.

This check concluded resistance on the part of the British officer, who drew off with the remains of his cavalry, collected his stragglers, and hastened to lord Cornwallis. The baggage guard, learning the issue of the battle, moved instantly towards the British army. A part of the horse, who had shamefully avoided action, and refused to charge when Tarleton wheeled on the impetuous Washington, reached the camp of Cornwallis at Fisher's creek, about twenty-five miles from the Cowpens, in the evening. The remainder arrived with lieutenant colonel Tarleton on the morning following. In this decisive battle we lost about seventy men, of whom twelve only were killed. The British infantry, with the exception of the baggage guard, were nearly all killed or taken. One hundred, including ten officers, were killed; twenty-three officers and five hundred privates were taken. The artillery, eight hundred muskets, two standards, thirty five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into our possession.

The victory of the Cowpens was to the South what that of Bennington had been to the North. General Morgan, whose former services had placed him high in public estimation, was now deservedly ranked among the most illustrious defenders of his country. Starke fought an inferior, Morgan a superior, foe. The former contended with a German* corps; the

* This remark is not made to disparage the German troops serving with the British army in America. They were excellent soldiers; but, for light services, they were inferior to the British.

latter with the elite of the Southern army, composed of British troops. In military reputation the conqueror

Ignorant of our language, unaccustomed to woods, with their very heavy dress, they were less capable of active and quick operations.

The splendid issue of the subsequent campaign, and the triumph of Gates has been noticed, as well as the instrumentality of Morgan in producing the auspicious event. Great and effectual as were his exertions, general Gates did not even mention him in his official despatches. The cause of this cruel omission was not known but to a few.

General Morgan says, that immediately after the surrender of Burgoyne, he visited Gates on business, when he was taken aside by the general and confidentially told, that the main army was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the war by the commander in chief, and that several of the best officers threatened to resign unless a change took place. Morgan perfectly understood the views of Gates in this conference, although he was then a stranger to the correspondence which he had held with Conway and others, and sternly replied, " That he had one favor to ask of him, which was, never to mention that detestable subject to him again; for under no other commander in chief than Washington would he serve."

Camp at Saratoga, 18th October, 1777.

Sir,

I have the satisfaction to present your excellency with the convention of Saratoga A, by which his excellency lieutenant general Burgoyne has surrendered himself and his whole army into my hands; and they are now upon their march to Boston. This signal and important event is the more glorious, as it was effected with so little loss to the army of the United States.

This letter will be presented to your excellency by my adjutant general, colonel Wilkinson, to whom I must beg leave to at the Cowpens must stand before the hero of Bennington. Starke was nobly seconded by colonel War-

refer your excellency, for the particulars that brought this great business to so happy and fortunate conclusion.

I desire to be permitted to recommend this gallant officer in the warmest manner to congress; and intreat that he may continue in his present place, with the ——— of a brigadier general. The honorable congress will believe me when I assure them, that from the beginning of this war, I have not met with a more promising military genius than colonel Wilkinson; and whose services have been of the greatest benefit to this army.

I am
your excellency's most obedient,
humble servant,
HORATIO GATES.

His excellency JOHN HANCOCK, Esq.

[(A)—Copy.]

Articles of convention between lieutenant general Burgoyne and major general Gates.

1st. The troops under lieutenant general Burgoyne are to march out of their camp with the honors of war and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command of their own officers.

2d. A free passage to be granted to the army under lieutenant general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops whenever general Howe shall so order.

3d. Should any cartel take place by which the army under lieutenant general Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing articles to be void as far as such exchange shall be made.

4th. The army under lieutenant general Burgoyne to march ner and his continental regiment; Morgan derived very great aid from Pickens and his militia, and was

to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, most expeditious, and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible, to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed, when transports arrive to receive them.

5th. The troops to be supplied on the march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions by general Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officers' horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rate.

6th. All officers to retain their carriages, ball horses, and other cattle; and no baggage to be molested or searched, lieutenant general Burgoyne giving his honor, there are no public stores secreted therein. Major general Gates will, of course, take the necessary measures for the due performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanting for the transportation of officers' baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates.

7th. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll calling and other purposes of regularity.

8th. All corps whatever of general Burgoyne's army, whether composed of salters, batteaumen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended, in every respect, as British subjects.

9th. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of salters, batteaumen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and any other followers of the army, who came under no particular description, are to be permit-effectually supported by Howard and Washington. The weight of the battle fell on Howard; who sus-

ted to return there. They are to be conducted immediately, by the shortest route, to the first British post on Lake George; are to be supplied with provision in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same conditions of not serving during the contest in North America.

10th. Passports to be immediately granted to three officers not exceeding the rank of captain, who shall be appointed by lieutenant general Burgoyne to carry despatches to sir William Howe, sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New York; and major general Gates engages the public faith, that these despatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their despatches, and to travel by the shortest routes, and in the most expeditious manner.

11th. During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted to parole, and are to be allowed to wear their side arms.

12th. Should the army under lieutenant general Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage to Canada, they are to be permitted to do it, in the most convenient manner, and the necessary passports granted for that purpose.

13th. These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock, and the troops under lieutenant general Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

J. Burgoyne.

Camp at Saratoga, October 16, 1777.

Extract of a letter from general Washington to R. H. Lee, Esq., dated

Philadelphia, 28th October, 1777.

" Although the surrender of general Burgoyne is a great and glorious event, highly honorable to our arms, and to those who were immediately opposed to him; and although I am perfectly tained himself gloriously in trying circumstances, and seized with decision the critical moment to complete with the bayonet the advantage gained by his fire.

Congress manifested their sense of this important victory by a resolve, approving the conduct of the principal officers, and commemorative of their distinguished exertions. To general Morgan they presented a golden medal, to brigadier Pickens a sword, and to lieutenant colonels Howard and Washington a silver medal, and to captain Triplett a sword.

While all must acknowledge the splendor of this achievement, it must be admitted, that the errors of the British commandant contributed not a little to our

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satisfied that the critical situation in which general Gates was likely to be thrown (by the approach of general Clinton up the North river) would not allow him to insist on a more perfect surrender; I am nevertheless convinced that this event will not equal our expectations: and that without great precautions and very delicate management, we shall have all these men (if not the officers) opposed to us in the spring. Without the necessary precautions, (as I have just observed) I think this will happen: and unless great delicacy is used in the precautions, a plea will be given them, and they will justify a breach of the covenant on their part. Do they not declare (many of them) that no faith is to be held with rebels? Did not the English do the very thing I am now suspecting them of after the convention of Closterseven, upon changing their commander? Will they hold better faith with us than they did with the French? I am persuaded myself that they will not: and yet I do not see how it is to be prevented without a direct violation of the articles by ourselves; as (by attempting to guard against the evil) we give them a plea of justification on their part."

signal success. The moment he came in sight of the American detachment, he must have been sure of his first wish and object,—battle. Where then was the necessity for that hurry with which he took his measures? It was but two in the afternoon; and consequently, after giving an hour's rest to his fatigued troops, there would have been time enough for the full accomplishment of his views. That interval he might have advantageously employed in a personal examination of his enemy's position, and in a disclosure of his plans to his principal officers. He knew well the composition of Morgan's corps, and the American mode of fighting. The front line, being composed of militia, he was well apprised would yield; and that the struggle for victory must take place after he reached our regulars. He ought not to have run upon the retiring militia with his infantry, but should have brought them up in full bodily capacity for the contest. A portion of dragoons might and ought to have borne down on Pickens, when retiring. But instead of that, Tarleton himself, with the first line, pressed forward and fell on our main body with exhausted breath. The fatigued, panting, disappointed British, as might have been expected, paused. Tarleton instantly called up his reserve, which approached near the line, suffered with it from our fire, and became useless. Here he violated the fundamental rules of battle. The reserve, as the term indicates, ought not to be endangered by the fire levelled at the preceding body; but, being safe from musketry by its distance, should be ready to interpose in case of disaster, and to increase advantage in the event of victory. In "his Campaigns," he acknowledges that the ground was disadvantageous to his adversary, and favorable to himself; speaks of the alacrity with which his troops advanced into action; and admits the leading facts, on which these observations are founded. He could not deny that he had two field pieces, and Morgan none; that he was vastly superior in cavalry; that his troops were among the best of the British army; and that he rather exceeded his enemy in numbers, whose regulars, horse and foot, were less than five hundred.

These facts admitted, how can the issue of the battle be satisfactorily explained without acknowledging, that the British leader did not avail himself of the advantages he possessed, that his improvidence and precipitancy influenced the result, and that general Morgan exhibited a personal superiority in the art of war? This conclusion, however contested by lieutenant colonel Tarleton and his particular friends, will be approved by the enlightened and impartial of both armies; and posterity will confirm the decision.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LORD Cornwallis received the unexpected, doleful tidings of Tarleton's defeat with serenity, but deep regret. He had been baffled in his first expedition into North Carolina by the fall of Ferguson; and this late disaster seemed to forbid perseverance in his second. With a view to retrieve, by the celerity of his movements, the severe loss he had sustained, he formed the wise resolution of converting his army into light troops by the destruction of his baggage. Commanding this sacrifice without respect to persons, he set the example himself, by committing to flames the baggage of headquarters. With zeal and alacrity his faithful army obeyed the mandate. Every thing was destroyed, save a small supply of clothing, and a sufficient number of wagons for the conveyance of hospital stores, of salt, of ammunition, and for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. We are at a loss whether to admire more the wisdom of the chief, or the self-denial of his followers. A memorable instance, among many others in this unnatural war, of the immutable disposition of the British soldiers to endure every privation in support of their king and country. This arrangement being finished, lord Cornwallis moved from Fisher's creek, determined on unceasing efforts to destroy

Morgan, and recover his lost troops; to keep separate the two divisions of Greene's army; and, should he fail in these attempts, to bring Greene to action before he could reach Virginia.

Morgan, always attentive to his duty, took measures for retreat the moment victory had declared in his favor. In the evening of the same day he crossed the Broad river, and moved by forced marches to the Catawba, before lord Cornwallis could reach its banks.

General Greene was quickly advised of the advance of the British army from Winnsborough and Cambden, through the upper country; and accordingly issued his preparatory orders for movement. On the subsequent day he received the gratifying intelligence of the victory at the Cowpens. Foreseeing the enemy's objects, he hastened his march in conformity with his previous disposition, and despatched a courier to Marion and Lee, apprising them of his decampment and ordering the latter to rejoin with all possible celerity. Escorted by a few dragoons, general Greene hastened to reach Morgan, which he happily accomplished on the last day of January, after that officer had passed the Catawba. Aware of the rapidity with which the British general would advance to strike him before he could gain that point, Morgan redoubled his exertions to reach it; but with all his activity, so keen and persevering had been Cornwallis's pursuit, that he had just crossed the river on the evening of the 29th of January, when the British van appeared on the opposite banks. A heavy fall of rain, during the night, rendered the Catawba unfordable. Morgan availed himself of this fortunate occurrence; and continuing in his position during the swell of the river, sent off his prisoners, with the arms, stores, &c., taken at the Cowpens, under the protection of a part of his militia, on a route nearer to the mountain than that intended to be taken by himself. The waters continued high for two days, and gave the brigadier time to place his prisoners in safety. His light troops, joined by some of the neighboring militia, were disposed, by order of general Greene, to dispute the passage of the river. This was attempted with a hope of retarding the British general in his advance so long as to allow time for brigadier Huger, of South Carolina, who had succeeded Smallwood after the retirement of that officer from Charlotte, to reach Salisbury, the first point assigned for the junction of the two divisions of the American army.

As soon as the fall of the water admitted the passage of troops, lord Cornwallis resumed his march. Lieutenant colonel Webster, at the head of one division, was directed to follow the main road to Beattie's Ford, indicating an intention to pass there; while the British general, with the remainder of his army, decamping about midnight, moved up the river to M'Cowan's, a distant and private ford, which he presumed would be neglected by his adversary. On his approach at the dawn of day, on the first of February, the light of fires on the opposite banks announced his lordship's miscalculation. Private as was this ford, it had not escaped the vigilance of Greene; who had detached, on the preceding evening, general Davidson with three hundred of the North Carolina militia to defend it. A disposition was immediately made to dislodge Davidson, which brigadier O'Hara with the guards effected. Lieutenant colonel Hall led with the light company, followed by the grenadiers. The current was rapid, the stream waist deep, and five hundred yards in width. The soldiers crossed in platoons, supporting each other's steps. When lieutenant colonel Hall reached the middle of the river, he was descried by the American centinels, whose challenge and fire brought Davidson's corps into array. Deserted by his guide, Hall passed directly across, not knowing the landing place which lay below him. This deviation from the common course rendered it necessary for Davidson to incline to the right;* but this manœuvre, although promptly performed, was not effected until

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* The movement to the right was prompt for militia, and did credit to Davidson and his corps, but not so prompt as the occasion required. Had brigadier Davidson's troops been regulars, the change would have been effected before the British gained the shore. With such advantage on our part the resistance would have been more effectual, and the injury to the enemy greatly augmented. Davidson, too, would probably have been saved.

Lord Cornwallis's horse was shot under him and fell as soon as he got upon the shore. Leslie's horses were carried down the stream, and with difficulty saved; and O'Hara's tumbled over with him in the water. This evinces the zeal of the pursuit; for, in other circumstances, the British general would have waited for the further fall of the waters.

Feb. 1st. the light infantry had gained the shore. A fierce conflict ensued, which was well supported by Davidson and his inferior force. The militia at length yielded, and Davidson, while mounting his horse to direct the retreat, was killed. The corps dispersed, and sought safety in the woods.* Our loss was small, excepting the brigadier, an active, zealous, and influential officer. Lieutenant colonel Hall was also killed, with three of the light infantry, and thirty-six were wounded. Lord Cornwallis followed the guards; and, as soon as his division had passed, detached lieutenant colonel Tarleton with the cavalry, supported by the twenty-third regiment, in pursuit of the militia. Terrant's tavern, ten miles in front, had been assigned as the place of rendezvous for the different corps of militia, assembled and assembling. Tarleton, approaching this place, discovered a body of troops in his front, and fell upon them with vigor. The militia made little or no resistance, and fled: a few of them were killed, but none taken.

The inhabitants of this region of the state were well affected to the American cause; and general Greene had flattered himself with an expectation of here drawing around him reinforcements, which, with the light troops under Morgan, would enable him to hold lord Cornwallis back for some days. But the fall of Davidson, and the rencontre at Terrant's tavern, disappointed, in their effect, this fond calculation. He despatched orders to brigadier Huger to relinquish the route to Salisbury, and to take the direct course to Guilford court-house, to which point he pressed forward with the light corps under Morgan. Passing through Salisbury, he proceeded to the trading ford on the Yadkin, where he arrived on the night of the second of February.

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* Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, in his Campaigns, speaks of fifty being killed; but other officers, who examined the ground, assert they found but ten.

General Greene having withdrawn his troops from Beattie's ford, on his lordship's passage above, lieutenant colonel Webster and his division crossed the Catawba without opposition, and in the course of the day joined the British general. Cornwallis had now gained the great road, leading to Salisbury; and the pursuit of our light troops was renewed with activity.

General Greene passed the Yadkin during the night of, and day following, his arrival at that river. The horse forded the stream, the infantry and most of the baggage were transported in flats. A few wagons fell into the hands of the enemy; for, notwithstanding the unfavorable condition of the roads and weather, brigadier O'Hara pressed forward with the British van, and Feb. 3d. overtook our rear guard. The retreating corps was again placed in a critical situation, and Heaven was again propitious. The rain continued during the night; the Yadkin became unfordable; and Greene had secured all the flats on its northern banks.*

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* To an attentive observer of the events during our war very many strong exemplifications of providential succor occur, besides the two just noticed.

Brigadier

The British general was a second time delayed by an unforeseen event. Relinquishing his anxious wish to bring the light troops to action before their junction with the main body, he recurred to his last expedient, that of cutting Greene off from the upper fords of the Dan, and compelling his united force to battle, before he could either reach Virginia, or derive any aid from that state. With this view, he moved up the Yadkin to fords, which were still passable. There his lordship crossed; and, directing his course to the Dan, held Greene on his right, with a determination to throw the American general on the lower Dan, which the great fall of rain had rendered impassable without the assistance of boats, which he supposed unattainable. This object, his last hope, the British general pursued with his accustomed rapidity.

Brigadier general Weedon served under Washington, and was with him when he made the brilliant manœuvre from before Cornwallis in Trenton; leaving his position in the night, and falling suddenly the next morning on the enemy at Princeton.

General Weedon was one of the council of war, called by the commander in chief, to advise in his then perilous situation. When the members met the ground was so deep and soft, that it was presumed the artillery would necessarily be left on the road. Before the council broke up, so immediate had been the change of the weather, that the ground became hard, and all apprehensions on the score of the artillery vanished. This information the writer received from general Weedon; who remarked, that so evidently advantageous was this sudden change, that it was universally understood by the troops, and as universally ascribed to a protecting Providence.

Greene was neither less active, nor less diligent. Continuing on the direct road to Guilford court-house, he reached that place on the 7th of February. Brigadier Huger, who had been overtaken by the legion of Lee, arrived on the same day. The united force of Greene, including five hundred militia, exceeded two thousand three hundred; of which, two hundred and seventy were cavalry of the best quality. The army of Cornwallis was estimated at two thousand five hundred; but his cavalry, although more numerous than that of his adversary, was far inferior in regard to the size, condition and activity of the horses. Taking into view his comparative weakness, general Greene determined to continue his retreat to Virginia. The British general was twenty-five miles from Guilford court-house; equally near with Greene to Dix's ferry on the Dan, and nearer to the upper shallows or points of that river, which were supposed to be fordable, notwithstanding the late swell of water. Lieutenant colonel Carrington, quartermaster general, suggested the propriety of passing at Irwin's ferry, seventy miles from Guilford court-house, and twenty below Dix's. Boyd's ferry was four miles below Irwin's; and the boats might be easily brought down from Dix's to assist in transporting the army at these near and lower ferries. The plan of lieutenant colonel Carrington was adopted, and that officer was charged with the requisite preparations. The route of retreat being determined, the place of crossing designated, and measures taken for the collection of boats, general Greene formed a light corps, consisting of some of his best infantry under lieutenant colonel Howard, of Washington's cavalry, the legion of Lee, and a few militia riflemen, making in all seven hundred. These troops were to take post between the retreating and the advancing army, to hover round the skirts of the latter, to seize every opportunity of striking in detail, and to retard the enemy by vigilance and judicious positions: while Greene, with the main body, hastened towards the Dan, the boundary of his present toils and dangers.

The command of the light corps was offered to brigadier Morgan, whose fitness for such a service was universally acknowledged, and whose splendid success had commanded the high confidence of the general and army. Morgan declined the arduous task; and being at that time afflicted, as he occasionally was, with rheumatism, intimated a resolution of retiring from the army. Greene listened with reluctance to the excuse, and endeavored to prevail on him to recede from his determination. Lieutenant colonel Lee, being in habits of intimacy with Morgan, was individually deputed to persuade him to obey the universal wish. Many common place arguments were urged in conversation without success. Lee then represented, that the brigadier's retirement at that crisis might induce an opinion unfavorable to his patriotism, and prejudicial to his future fame; that the resignation of a successful soldier at a critical moment was often attributed, and sometimes justly, to an apprehension, that the contest would ultimately be unfortunate to his country, or to a conviction that his reputation had been accidentally acquired, and could not survive the vicissitudes of war. These observations appeared to touch the feelings of Morgan: for a moment he paused; then discovered a faint inclination to go through the impending conflict; but finally returned to his original decision. His refusal of the proffered command was followed by a request to retire; which was granted.

CHAPTER XXV.

COLONEL OTHO WILLIAMS, of Maryland; an accomplished gentleman and experienced soldier, being called to the station, so anxiously, but vainly, pressed on Morgan, accepted it with cheerfulness and diffidence. This last arrangement being finished, Greene put his army in motion, leaving Williams on the ground. The greater the distance between the main body and the light troops, the surer would be Greene's retreat. Williams, therefore, soon after breaking up from Guilford court-house, on the 10th, inclined to the left, for the purpose of throwing himself in front of lord Cornwallis. This movement was judicious, and had an immediate effect. His lordship, finding a corps of horse and foot close in front, whose strength and object were not immediately ascertainable, checked the rapidity of his march to give time for his long extended line to condense.

Could Williams have withdrawn himself from between Greene and Cornwallis, he might, probably, by occultly reaching the British rear, have performed material service. Although his sagacity discovered the prospect, yet his sound judgment could not adopt a movement which might endanger the retreat of an army, whose safety was the object of his command,

and indispensable to the common cause. He adhered, therefore, to the less dazzling, but more useful, system; and fastened his attention, first on the safety of the main body, next on that of the corps under his command; risking the latter only (and then without hesitation) when the security of Greene's retreat demanded it. Pursuing his course obliquely to the left, he reached an intermediate road; the British army being on his left and in his rear, the American in front and on his right.* This was exactly the proper position for the light corps, and Williams judiciously retained it.†

The enemy persevering in his rapid advance, our rear guard, (composed of the legion of Lee) and the British van under brigadier O'Hara, were in sight during the day. Throughout the night, the corps of Williams held a respectful distance, to thwart, as far as was practicable, nocturnal assault.

The duty, severe in the day, became more so at night; for numerous patroles and strong piquets were necessarily furnished by the light troops, not only for their own safety, but to prevent the enemy from placing himself, by a circuitous march, between Williams and Greene. Such a manœuvre would have been fatal to the American army; and to render it impossible, half of the troops were alternately appropriated every night to duty: so that each man, during the retreat, was entitled to but six hours repose in forty-eight. Notwithstanding this privation, the troops were in fine spirits and good health; delighted with their task, and determined to prove themselves worthy the distinction with which they had been honored. At the hour of three, their toils were renewed; for Williams always pressed forward with the utmost despatch in the morning, to gain such a distance in front as would secure breakfast to his soldiers, their only meal during this rapid and hazardous retreat. So fatigued was officer and soldier, and so much more operative is weariness than hunger, that each man, not placed on duty, surrendered himself to repose as soon as the night position was taken. Situated as was Williams, no arrangement could have been devised, better calculated to effect the great object of his trust, and to secure food once a day to his troops.

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* The reader will take notice, whenever he meets with the term *right*, or *left*, he is to ask himself in what direction the armies are moving, which will explain the import of the term. At present we are moving north, and lord Cornwallis being on the upper route, was relatively to our left.

† The route we had marched being deemed safe, as it was known that his lordship was on a parallel road to our left, the lesser precautions were applied to it; nevertheless, the enemy's advance would have been notified in due time from the horse patrole, or from the infantry piquet, should he have avoided or intercepted the patrole—not a probable occurrence.

The moment lord Cornwallis found it necessary to change his course and to push for Dix's ferry, he ordered his van to proceed slowly; and separating from it at the head of the main body, which had now arrived at a cross-way leading to the desired route, he quickly gained the great road to Dix's ferry, the course of the American light corps.

Feb. 13th. In pursuance of this system, Williams made a rapid morning's march; and leaving small patroles of cavalry near the enemy, sent forward the staff to select ground and prepare fires. The officers and dragoons, who had been necessarily kept in sight of the British, upon joining, were hastened in front to a farmhouse near the road, where they enjoyed, although a few hours later, a more comfortable meal. Lieutenant colonel Carrington, who commanded the dragoons near the enemy's van, reported from time to time, in conformity to custom, by which it appeared, that Cornwallis was moving as usual. The morning was cold and drizzly; our fires, which had been slow in kindling, were now lively; the meat was on the coals, and the corn cake in the ashes. At this moment, a friendly countryman appeared, riding in haste to our camp, whither he had been directed by the serjeant of one of the horse patroles, with which he fell in on his way. The hurry of his approach, and the tired condition of his meager poney, evinced sincerity of heart; while the joy of his countenance declared his participation of interest. Asking for "the general," he was conducted to colonel Williams, whom he bluntly informed, that lord Cornwallis, leaving his former route, had got into our road; that one half hour past he left the British army advancing, then only four miles behind; that accidentally discovering it from his field, where he was burning brushwood, he ran home, took the first horse he could find, and hastened to give his friends intelligence, which he deemed important. To attach doubt to the information of an honest looking farmer would have violated all the rules of physiognomy. Williams always delighted to indulge and comfort his brave troops; and, although he credited the countryman, was unwilling to interrupt their hasty repast. He therefore ordered lieutenant colonel Lee to detach from his cavalry, in order to ascertain the correctness of the intelligence. Captain Armstrong, with one section of the horse, was despatched accordingly, with the countryman for his guide. Soon after their departure, Carrington, still near the enemy, communicated the unusually slow progress of the van guard. Combining this intelligence with that just received, Williams ordered lieutenant colonel Lee to strengthen Armstrong, and to take upon himself the command entrusted to that officer. Lieutenant Lewis, with the required addition, attended Lee, who despatched one of the dragoons to overtake Armstrong, with orders directing him to move slowly until he should join. Quickly reaching Armstrong, who had not advanced more than a mile, Lee proceeded, in conformity with the advice of the countryman, two miles further; but seeing no enemy, he began to believe that his guide, however well affected, was certainly in a mistake. He determined, therefore, to return to breakfast, and leave Armstrong with three dragoons and the guide to continue on to the spot, where the countryman's information had placed the enemy one hour before. Armstrong selected the dragoons mounted on the swiftest horses, and was in the act of moving, when the amicable countryman protested against accompanying him, unless furnished with a better horse. While with the whole detachment, he had thought himself safe, and never manifested any unwillingness to proceed; but now, being associated with the most alert of alert dragoons, whose only duty was to look and fly, he considered his danger extreme. This remonstrance, the justice of which could not be resisted, added another reason for crediting the information. Lee dismounted his bugler, whose horse was given to the countryman; and the bugler was sent back to camp to inform Williams how far the lieutenant colonel had proceeded without seeing any portion of the enemy, and of his intention to return after advancing Armstrong still further in front. Not doubting that the countryman had seen the British army, but supposing him to be mistaken in the distance, Lee led his detachment into the woods, and retired slowly, in sight of the road. He presumed, that should Armstrong be followed, the enemy would discover the trail of advancing horse in the road, and be deterred from a keen pursuit, which he did not wish to encourage, as it might deprive the light troops of their meal; although he was disposed in that event to seize any advantage which might offer. Not many minutes elapsed before a discharge of musketry announced that Armstrong had met the enemy; and shortly after, the clangor of horses in swift speed declared the fast approach of cavalry. Armstrong soon appeared, closely followed by a troop of Tarleton's dragoons. Lee saw his captain and small party well in front, and hand in hand. For them he felt no apprehensions; but for the safety of his bugler, on the countryman's poney, every feeling of his heart became interested. Being passed unperceived by the pursued and pursuers, Lee continued to proceed in the woods, determined to interpose in time to rescue his bugler, yet wishing to let the enemy take the utmost allowable distance, that they might be deprived of support. Directing one of his lieutenants to halt with the rear file and ascertain whether additional cavalry was following, Lee hastened his progress, and soon saw the enemy's near approach to his defenceless bugler, who was immediately unhorsed, and sabred several times while prostrate on the ground. Lee was pressing forward to the road in the enemy's rear, when the officer, who had been left behind, rejoined with the acceptable information, that no reinforcement was approaching. Gaining the road, the lieutenant colonel rushed forward in quick charge, and fell upon the troop of Tarleton soon after it had reached his bugler. Captain Miller instantly formed, and fronted his approaching adversary; but his worn-down ponies were as ill calculated to withstand the stout, high conditioned, active horse, opposed to them, as were the intoxicated, inexpert riders unfit to contend with dragoons always sober, and excelling in horsemanship. The enemy was crushed on the first charge: most of them were killed or prostrated; and the residue, with their captain, attempted to escape. They were pursued by lieutenant Lewis, who was commanded by Lee to give no quarters. This sanguinary mandate, so contrary to the American character, proceeded from a view of the bugler,—a beardless, unarmed youth, who had vainly implored quarter, and in the agonies of death presented a spectacle resistless in its appeal for vengeance.* Having placed the much wounded hapless boy in the arms of the stoutest of his dragoons, and directed another soldier to attend them to camp, the lieutenant colonel proceeded in support of Lewis. Soon this officer was met, returning with captain Miller, and all, save two, of the fugitives. The British captain was unhurt; but his dragoons were severely cut in the face, neck, and shoulders. Lewis was reprimanded on the spot for disobedience of orders; and Miller, being peremptorily charged with the atrocity perpetrated in his view, was told to prepare for death. The captain, with some show of reason, asserted, that intelligence being his object, it was his wish and interest to save the soldier; that he had tried to do so; but his dragoons being intoxicated, all his efforts were ineffectual. He added, that in the terrible slaughter under lieutenant colonel Buford, his humanity was experienced, and had been acknowledged by some of the Americans who escaped death on that bloody day. Lee was somewhat mollified by this rational apology, and was disposed to substitute one of the prisoners; but soon overtaking the speechless dying youth, whose relation to his supporting comrade of the tragical particulars of his fate, when able to speak, confirmed the former impressions of Lee, he returned with unrelenting sternness to his first decision. Descending a long hill, he repeated his determination to sacrifice Miller in the vale through which they were about to pass; and handing him a pencil, desired him to note on paper whatever he might wish to make known to his friends, with an assurance that it should be transmitted to the British general. At this moment, the rear guard communicated, by pistol discharge, the approach of the British van. Miller and his fellow prisoners were hurried on to colonel Williams, who was at the same time informed of the enemy's advance. Williams put his corps in motion, and forwarded the captured officers and soldiers to headquarters; ignorant of the murder of the bugler, and the determination of lieutenant colonel Lee. Thus Miller escaped the fate to which he had been doomed, in order to convince the British cavalry under lieutenant colonel Tarleton, that American blood should no longer be wantonly shed with impunity. Believing himself indebted for his life to the accident just recited, captain Miller took care to represent, by letter, to his friends in the British army what had happened, and his conviction of what would have followed; and never afterwards were such cruelties repeated by the British cavalry acting against the army of Greene.

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* This ill-fated boy was one of the band of music, and exclusively devoted in the field to his horse, used in conveying orders. Too small to wield a sword, he was armed only with one pistol, as was the custom in the legion; that sort of weapon being considered of little import in action: now he had not even his pistol, it being with the countryman mounted on his horse.

The dead, eighteen in number, being left on the road where they fell, were buried by order of lord Cornwallis as he passed. On the part of the American officer no life was lost, except that of the beardless bugler, who died soon after the advance of the enemy was announced. His corpse was necessarily deposited in the woods adjoining the road, with the hope that some humane citizen might find it.

The pursuit was continued with unceasing activity. Williams, retiring in compact order, with the legion of Lee in his rear, held himself ready to strike, whenever an opportunity presented. The skilful enemy never permitted any risk in detail, but preserved his whole force for one decisive struggle.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HAVING continued on the route to Dix's ferry as far as he deemed advisable, and presuming that general Greene would on the next day reach the vicinity of the Dan, colonel Williams determined to pass to the road on his right, leading to Irwin's ferry, the route of the main body. He communicated this intention to the rear officer; and moved forward with increased celerity, for the purpose of gaining a distant night position, that he might be able to diminish the guards necessary for the security of his corps when close to the enterprising enemy.

Lieutenant colonel Lee, having discovered, from conversation with his guides, that a bye-way in front would lead him into Williams's rear before the close of evening, and save a considerable distance, determined to avail himself of the accommodation. A subaltern's command of dragoons was left to proceed on the route taken by colonel Williams, with orders to communicate any extraordinary occurrence to the commandant and to lieutenant colonel Lee. The cavalry, who met Miller in the morning, had lost their breakfast; and Lee's chief object in taking the short course was to avail himself of an abundant farm for the refreshment of this party. As soon as he reached the proposed route, the infantry were hastened forward, with directions to halt at the farm, and prepare for the accommodation of the corps; while the cavalry continued close to the enemy. In due time afterwards, they were drawn off and passed through the woods, leaving in front of the British van the detachment which had been selected to follow the route of the light troops. The obscurity of the narrow road taken by Lee, lulled every suspicion with respect to the enemy; and a few videts only were placed at intermediate points, rather to give notice when the British should pass along, than to guard the legion from surprise. This precaution was most fortunate; for so it happened, that lord Cornwallis, having ascertained that Greene had directed his course to Irwin's ferry, determined to avail himself of the nearest route to gain the road of his enemy, and took the path which Lee had selected. Our horses were unbridled, with abundance of provender before them; the hospitable farmer had liberally bestowed his meal and bacon, and had given the aid of his domestics in hastening the much wished repast. To the surprise and grief of all, the pleasant prospect was instantly marred by the fire of the advanced videts,—certain signal of the enemy's approach. Before the farm was a creek, which, in consequence of the late incessant rains, could be passed only by a bridge, not more distant from the enemy than from our party. The cavalry being speedily arrayed, moved to support the videts; while the infantry were ordered, in full run, to seize and hold the bridge.

The enemy was equally surprised with ourselves at this unexpected meeting; and the light party in front halted, to report and be directed. This pause was sufficient. The bridge was gained, and soon passed by the corps of Lee. The British followed. The road over the bridge leading through cultivated fields for a mile, the British army was in full view of the troops of Lee as the latter ascended the eminence on whose summit they entered the great road to Irwin's ferry.

Thus escaped a corps, which had been hitherto guarded with unvarying vigilance; whose loss would have been severely felt by the American general; and which had been just exposed to imminent peril from the presumption of certain security. Criminal improvidence! A soldier is always in danger, when his conviction of security leads him to dispense with the most vigilant precautions.

Cornwallis, at length in Greene's rear, urged his march with redoubled zeal, confident of overtaking his adversary before he could reach the Dan. Adverse efforts to accelerate and to retard were unceasingly exhibited during the evening; the enemy's van being sometimes so close as to indicate a determination to force the light troops to prepare for defence. Avoiding a measure replete with peril, Williams persevered in his desultory retreat. More than once were the legion of Lee and the van of O'Hara within musket shot; which presented so acceptable an invitation to the marksmen flanking the legion, that they were restrained with difficulty from delivering their fire. This disposition being effectually checked, the demeanor of the hostile troops became so pacific in appearance, that a spectator would have been led to consider them members of the same army. Only when a defile or a water course crossed our route did the enemy exhibit any indication to cut off our rear: in which essays, being always disappointed, their useless efforts were gradually discontinued.

The fall of night excited pleasure, as it promised respite from toil. But illusory was the expectation! for the British general was so eager to fall on Greene, whom he believed within his grasp, that the pursuit was not intermitted. The night was dark, the roads deep, the weather cold, and the air humid. Williams, throwing his horse in front, and the infantry of the legion in the rear, continued his retreat.

About eight in the evening, numerous fires discovered an encampment before us. No pen can describe the heart-rending feelings of our brave and wearied troops. Not a doubt was entertained, that the descried camp was Greene's; and our dauntless corps was convinced, that the crisis had now arrived when its self sacrifice could alone give a chance of escape to the main body. With one voice was announced the noble resolution to turn on the foe, and, by dint of desperate courage, so to cripple him as to force a discontinuance of pursuit. This heroic spirit, first breathed in whispers, soon gained the ear of Williams; who, alike daring and alike willing to offer up his life for the safety of an army on which the hopes of the South rested, would have been foremost in the bold conflict. But his first impressions soon yielded to conclusions drawn from a reference to the date of general Greene's last letter, which demonstrated the mistaken apprehension of the troops. Enjoying the delight inspired by their manly ardor, and commending their devotion to their country, he calmed their disquietude. They shortly reached the camp of fires, and discovered that it was the ground where Greene had halted on the evening of the 11th. Relieved from the dire foreboding, the light corps continued its march until the rear officer made known to the commandant that the enemy had halted. The first convenient spot was occupied for the night; the fires were instantly kindled: the cold and wet, the cares and toils of the day, were soon forgotten in the enjoyment of repose.

About midnight our troops were put in motion, in consequence of the enemy's advance on our piquets, which the British general had been induced to order from knowing that he was within forty miles of the Dan, and that all his hope depended on the exertions of the following day. Animated with the prospect of soon terminating their present labors, the light troops resumed their march with alacrity. The roads continued deep and broken, and were rendered worse by being incrusted with frost: nevertheless, the march was pushed with great expedition. In the forenoon one hour was applied by both commanders to the refreshment of their troops.

About noon colonel Williams received a letter from general Greene, communicating the delightful tidings of his passage over the Dan on the preceding day. Feb. 13th. The whole corps became renovated in strength and agility; so powerful is the influence of the mind over the body. The great object of their long and faithful labors being so nearly accomplished, a general emulation pervaded all ranks to hasten to the boundary of their cares and perils. The hopes of the enemy were still high, and he rivalled our increased celerity; the van of O'Hara following close on the rear of Lee. About three in the evening we arrived within fourteen miles of the river; and colonel Williams, leaving the legion of Lee to wait on the enemy, took the nearest course to Boyd's ferry. Before sunset he gained the river, and was soon transported to the opposite shore.

Lee, at the assigned period, directed his infantry to follow on the route of Williams; and about dark withdrew with his cavalry, the enemy being still in motion. Between the hours of eight and nine, the cavalry reached the river, just as the boats had returned from landing the legion infantry. In obedience to the disposition of lieutenant colonel Carrington, quarter master general, who superintended, in person, his arrangements for the transportation of the army, the horses were turned into the stream, while the dragoons, with their arms and equipments, embarked in the boats. Unluckily, some of the horses turned back, and gaining the shore, fled into the woods; and for a time some apprehensions were entertained that they might be lost. They were, however, recovered; and being forced into the river, followed those preceding them. In the last boat, the quarter master general, attended by lieutenant colonel Lee and the rear troop, reached the friendly shore.

In the evening lord Cornwallis had received the unwelcome news of Greene's safe passage over the Dan; and now relinquishing his expectation of annihilating a second army, and despairing of striking the light corps, so long in his view and always safe, he gave repose to his vainly wearied troops.

Thus ended, on the night of the 14th of February, this long, arduous and eventful retreat.

No operation during the war more attracted the public attention than did this: not only the toils and dangers encountered by a brave general and his brave army interested the sympathy of the nation, but the safety of the South, hanging on its issue, excited universal concern. The danger of this contingency alarmed the hearts of all, especially the more reflecting, who deemed the integrity of the Union essential to American liberty and happiness, and indispensable to our future safety and strength.

Destroy the army of Greene, and the Carolinas with Georgia inevitably became members of the British empire. Virginia, the bulwark of the South, would be converted first into a frontier, then into the theatre of war. Already drained nearly to the bottom, she would be committed into a contest for life with reduced means and broken spirits. All the country south of James river, so convenient to predatory incursions from the southern states, would soon be ground to dust and ashes. Such misery without hope, could not be long endured; and reannexation to the mother country, presenting the only cure within reach, it would be solicited and obtained. That part of the state north of James river, and west of the Blue ridge, must continue united; and so far as its ability permitted, would be found a daring and destructive foe. But in this desperate condition of affairs, with the enemy's uncontrolled maritime superiority, and the facile admission into the bosom of the country, presented by its fine rivers, its resistance could not be of long duration. The stoutest heart trembled lest the Potomac should become the boundary of British dominion on the east of the Blue ridge.

Happily for these states, a soldier of consummate talents guided the destiny of the South.

Cordially supported and truly beloved by the august personage at the head of the American armies, the bosom of Greene, gratefully reciprocating feelings so honorable to his character, never was assailed by those degrading passions, envy and malevolence—which too often disturb the harmony of associate leaders, and generate deep disasters to the common cause.

The glory of Washington, next to the safety of his country, was the prime object of his wishes. Pure and tranquil from the consciousness of just intentions, the undisturbed energy of his mind was wholly devoted to the effectual accomplishment of the high trust reposed in him.

The difficulty of retreat from South Carolina with an inferior army, and that army acting necessarily in two divisions at a great distance from each other,—the state of North Carolina, stored with faithful abettors of the royal cause, who waited with solicitude for a fit opportunity to demonstrate their unshaken loyalty,—presented in themselves impediments great and difficult. When we add the comfortless condition of our troops in point of clothing,* the rigor of the season, the inclemency of the weather, our short stock of ammunition, and shorter stock of provisions,--and contrast it with the comfortable raiment and ample equipment of the enemy, inured to service, habituated to daring enterprises, the very troops which had taken Lincoln and destroyed Gates, rendered capable of the most rapid movements by their voluntary sacrifice of baggage provisions and liquor, and conducted by a general always to be dreaded,—we have abundant cause to honor the soldier whose mental resources smoothed every difficulty, and ultimately made good a retreat of two hundred and thirty miles, (unaided, except occasionally by small corps of friendly militia) without the loss of either troops or stores. Nor can we hesitate in acknowledging, that the scene just closed, presented satisfactory displays of that masterly genius, which, in the sequel, unfolded itself with such utility and splendor.

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* The shoes were generally worn out, the body clothes much tattered, and not more than a blanket for four men. The light corps was rather better off; but among its officers there was not a blanket for every three: so that among those whose hour admitted rest, it was an established rule, that at every fire, one should, in routine, keep upon his legs to preserve the fire in vigor. The tents were never used by the corps under Williams during the retreat. The heat of the fires was the only protection from rain, and sometimes snow: it kept the circumjacent ground and air dry, while imparting warmth to the body.

Provisions were not to be found in abundance, so swift was our progress. The single meal allowed us was always scanty, though good in quality and very nutritious, being bacon and corn meal.

The British army have also a clear title to praise. More comfortably clad, the soldier was better able to bear the extremes of the season: in every other respect he equalled his enemy—bearing incessant toil, courting danger, and submitting to privation of necessary food with alacrity; exhibiting, upon all occasions, unquestionable evidence of fidelity, zeal and courage, in seconding the hardy enterprise of his admired leader.

General Greene, reviewing his army, at length safely enjoying wholesome and abundant supplies of food in the rich and friendly county of Halifax, bestowed upon all his commendation; distinguishing, by his marked approbation, colonel Williams, and lieutenant colonel Carrington quarter master general. The first, for his complete execution of the very difficult task assigned to him—exposed with his very inferior force to the daily and nightly assault of a sagacious and intrepid foe, he was never foiled himself, and seized the only opportunity presented of impressing the enemy with due respect for the corps under his orders;—the last, for his multifarious services during the retreat. Lieutenant colonel Carrington had been detached with that portion of the Virginia regiment of artillery, retained with the main army, when some of its companies attended the Virginia line to the South,.and fell with it at the surrender of Charleston: which loss was now supplied by some companies formerly attached to the Maryland line. On reaching North Carolina with de Kalb, colonel Harrison, commandant of the Virginia artillery, unexpectedly arrived, and assumed command. In consequence of a misunderstanding with his colonel, Carrington retired, and was despatched, upon Gates's arrival, to superintend the examination of the Roanoke river, to ascertain the readiest points of communication across it,—not only for the purpose of expedition and celerity to his supplies coming from Virginia, but also with the view of insuring a safe retreat from North Carolina, should such a measure, then probable, become necessary. In this service Carrington was found by Greene, who pressed upon him the untried station of chief of the quarter master's department, and despatched him to hasten the execution of the various arrangements which he had formed as he passed through Richmond. Among those which, under this order, claimed the lieutenant colonel's attention, was the examination of the Dan, (the southern branch of the Roanoke) for the same purposes for which he had, by order of general Gates, explored the last mentioned river; and with the further object of discovering whether the water of the Dan would admit an inland navigation to be connected by a portage with the Yadkin; which mode of intercourse, in case of protracted war in the Carolinas, would be attended by most beneficial consequences. Captain Smith, of the Maryland line, was appointed to this service by lieutenant colonel Carrington, and performed the duty with much intelligence.

So engaged was Carrington in accomplishing the orders of the general, that he only joined the army two days before its concentration at Guilford court-house, where he assumed the direction of the trust assigned to him. We have before mentioned the judicious plan which he submitted to Greene for the passage of the river Dan, founded on the report made by captain Smith of his examination.*

In this most difficult crisis Carrington commenced his official duties: his subordinate officers habituated to expedients and strangers to system, his implements of every sort in a wretched condition, and without a single dollar in the military chest. Nevertheless, he contrived, by his method, his zeal, and his indefatigable industry, to give promptitude to our movements, as well as accuracy and punctuality to the supplies of subsistence, and to collect in due time all the boats upon the Dan, above Boyd's ferry, at the two points designated for the passage of that river.†

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* As soon as Greene adopted the plan prepared by the quarter master general for crossing the Dan, Carrington detached the same captain Smith, of the Maryland line, heretofore employed by him in the examination of the Roanoke river. The service was performed highly to the satisfaction of the general, and much to captain Smith's credit.

† There are two sorts of victory,—that, generally understood, when two armies meet, fight, and when one yields to the other; or, when the object of contest is given up without battle, by voluntary relinquishment, as was now the case, rather than risk battle.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CORNWALLIS, baffled in every expectation, much as he deserved success, (for certainly no man could have done more than he did) now turned his attention to produce solid advantage out of the eclat he had acquired in forcing Greene to abandon the state. Selecting Hillsborough as headquarters, one of the principal towns of North Carolina,* he, after one day's repose of his army, proceeded thither by easy marches. Here he erected the king's standard, and invited, by his proclamation, judiciously prepared and opportunely promulgated, all liege subjects to prove their fidelity by contributing their aid in restoring the blessings of peace and order to their convulsed country.

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* Newbern and Hillsborough were the alternate seats of royal government in North Carolina; as were Burlington and Perth Amboy in the province of New Jersey. To the west of Newbern lies Wilmington, on the Cape Fear river, convenient to the Scotch emigrants' settlement on the waters of that river, whose inhabitants had for some years past in the character of regulators, resisted the royal authority, but were now firm abettors of kingly government. It is one of the few towns convenient to ship navigation: consequently, necessarily occupied by the British general. Here all his supplies of every sort were brought from New York and Charleston, and deposited till further orders, in care of the garrison.

He reiterated his orders prohibiting the disorderly of his army from indulging their licentious passions, commanding the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants, with threats of severe and prompt punishment upon all and every offender.

In the camp of Greene, joy beamed in every face; and, as if every man was conscious of having done his duty, the subsequent days to the reunion of the army on the north of the Dan, were spent in mutual gratulations; with the rehearsal of the hopes and fears which agitated every breast during the retreat; interspersed with the many simple but interesting anecdotes with which every tongue was strung.

Meanwhile, the indefatigable Greene gave his mind and time to the hastening of his long pressed, and much wanted reinforcements: devising within himself, in the same moment, plans to augment his force through his personal weight, and the influence of those ready to co-operate with him. Brigadier Stevens, whom we have seen overwhelmed with distress and mortification, in consequence of the shameful conduct of his brigade at the battle of Cambden, as soon as he had conducted his militia to Pittsylvania court-house, for the purpose of laying up their arms, returned to the army, in the expectation of such accession of force as would enable the general to replace him in the line of service. He had shared with the army in all the toils and perils of the retreat until he was ordered to Pittsylvania court-house; and he was now anxious to participate with it in the honors and dangers of advance.

The people of Halifax county received us with the affection of brethren, mingled with admiration of the brave devotion to country, just exhibited. Volunteers began to tender their services, of which laudable enthusiasm Greene availed himself; and naming Stevens* as their leader, referred them to him for organization. Encouraging the spread of this honorable spirit, which Stevens took care to cherish with incessant dilligence, very soon the foundation of a partial force was laid, which, gradually increasing, constituted that brigade, which covered itself and general with glory in the sequel.

Grateful as was this display of zeal in the people of Halifax, and anxious as was the general to give to the efforts of Stevens full effect, he could not long enjoy the agreeable scene, nor indulge his faithful army in its novel state of ease and abundance. On North Carolina his mind was fixed. Its subjugation was inadmissible; and ill-brooking his forced abandonment of it, he was restless in safety; because that safety, in his estimation, was inglorious and injurious. Urging the governor of Virginia to press forward the long expected aid, patronising the exertions of Stevens to bring to him succor, derived from community of feelings and of interest, he now turned himself to the recovery of North Carolina; determined to contend upon its own soil for its independence.

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* This officer, as has been mentioned, had proceeded with his militia to Pittsylvania court-house to discharge his men, whose time of service had expired, and for the purpose of placing the public arms in the magazines allotted for their reception. He was well apprised of Greene's difficulties; and hearing, on his way home, by some reports that had overtaken him, that these difficulties were increased, and that it was very likely that his army might be crippled before he crossed the Dan; Stevens, instead of going home, returned to camp, taking with him some of the militia of Pittsylvania, collected by the exertions of the county lieutenant, determined to share the fate of Greene and of his army.

Well acquainted with the high character of his able adversary, he knew that every hour of submission, growing out of our acknowledged inferiority of force, proved by his long evasion of battle, would be turned by him to solid advantage in support of the royal cause. Also knowing the divided condition of the inhabitants of the state, he dreaded the effects of victory, when used by a sagacious soldier and applied to a people almost equally balanced in their political feelings. Under the influence of such calculations, on the 17th he issued preparatory orders for movement.

The American general was not mistaken in his deductions. Availing himself of Greene's abandonment of North Carolina, of his undisturbed occupation of Hillsborough, and of his quiet possession of Wilmington upon the Cape Fear river by a detachment from Charleston under the orders of major Craig, lord Cornwallis began to realize the expectations he had so long and so sanguinely indulged. The royalists every where were preparing to rise, while the well affected to the cause of America, despairing of protection, began to look for safety in submission.

Greene, persevering in his determination to risk his army again in North Carolina,—to rouse the drooping spirits of his friends, and to check the audacity of his foes,—the legion of Lee, strengthened by two companies of the veterans of Maryland under captain Oldham, with the corps of South Carolina militia under brigadier Pickens, was ordered, in the morning of the 18th, to repass the Dan. This was readily performed; all the boats heretofore collected being still held together by Carrington for the use of the army.

Pickens and Lee were commanded to gain the front of Cornwallis, to place themselves as close to him as safety would permit to interrupt his communication with the country, to repress the meditated rising of the loyalists, and, at all events, to intercept any party of them which might attempt to join the enemy.

These officers lost no time in advancing to the theatre of operations; and having in the course of the march provided capable guides, sat down that evening in a covert position, short of the great road leading from the Haw river to Hillsborough, and detached exploring parties of cavalry on the roads towards Hillsborough and towards the Haw. In the course of the evening, Greene, never avoiding toil or danger, with a small escort of Washington's cavalry left his army, and overtook the advanced corps in its secret position. He continued with it during the night, and renewed to the two commandants explanations of his plan and object. He communicated his intention of repassing the Dan with the army in a few days, directing his route towards the upper country; too remote, as he remarked, from the advanced corps to afford the smallest protection; urged cordial concert, pressed in fervid terms the necessity of unceasing vigilance, and the most cautious circumspection. Before dawn the officer, who had been despatched towards the Haw, returned with intelligence, that on the preceding day lieutenant colonel Tarleton had passed up that route from Hillsborough with horse, foot, and artillery; their number unascertained; destined, as was presumed, to pass the Haw river, with the view of hastening the embodying of the loyalists, and of protecting them on their march to Hillsborough. The wisdom of the measure, adopted by Greene, was now shown, as already an important object presented itself to the detached corps. Greene having set out on his return to camp, Pickens and Lee advanced; first sending reconnoitring parties in their front, with orders to conceal themselves in sight of the road to watch passing occurrences, and to report from time to time the result of their observations. The main body moving obliquely to their right through an unsettled region, they encamped within three miles of the great road, with the Haw on their right, about seven miles distant. Here they were joined by the light parties sent out in the morning, and by the officer who had the day before been detached towards Hillsborough. The first reported that every thing was still on the road, and that they had not seen a single person, except a well grown boy, during the day, whom they had brought along with them agreeable to orders. From this lad we discovered that Tarleton had not passed the river yesterday, but would do it on the next morning.

The officer who had approached Hillsborough found all quiet in that quarter, and neither saw nor heard any thing indicating a movement on the part of the enemy. Resting for the night, the corps proceeded after breakfast the next day, waiting until then to give time for the exploring parties to renew their efforts in obtaining more precise intelligence.

Approaching the road, it was met by a dragoon bringing information that the British detachment had passed the Haw. This being ascertained, Pickens and Lee gained the great road, and followed on the enemy's route. Guides became unnecessary now; for the British detachment had plundered all the houses on the road, known, as they were, to be the property of patriots, and symbols of devastation marked their steps. The men having all fled, none but women could be seen. From them the American commandants learned, that the loyalists between the Haw and Deep rivers were certainly embodying, and that the British detachment would not advance far on the other side of the river, it being commonly said among the soldiers, that they should return in a few days. By what could be gathered from report, and judging by the time of passing any one house, it appeared that most of the cavalry, two light brass pieces, and four hundred infantry, composed the detachment. Sending again a small party of dragoons down the road, to discover whether any second body of troops were moving from Hillsborough, Pickens and Lee continued on to the Haw, which they passed without delay, hearing that lieutenant colonel Tarleton was encamped four miles in front. At this moment the officer sent down the road, rejoined, communicating that there was no prospect of interruption from that quarter.

Soon after we had crossed the river, which was fordable, a countryman was discovered by the cavalry in front; and being overtaken, was sent to the commandants. From him it was ascertained, that lieutenant colonel Tarleton, as had been reported, commanded the party, and that he was encamped within three miles of us about noon; that his horses were unsaddled, and that appearances indicated his confidence of security. With respect to his strength, the countryman's information rated it the same as it was before understood to be. This being correct, Tarleton had the advantage in number of cavalry, but was inferior in quality: he had two light pieces, the Americans none: he was numerically inferior in infantry; but his troops were all tried regulars, while half of our infantry were militia, though of the best sort. A disposition for attack was immediately made. The infantry of the legion led by lieutenant colonel Lee, forming the centre, moved directly towards the enemy, with the cavalry in column under major Rudolph, upon its right; and the militia riflemen, conducted by brigadier Pickens, on its left. Oldham, with the two Maryland companies, composed the reserve. Presuming a surprise probable, the march was concealed by keeping through woods, having faithful guides with each division. In this event major Rudolph had orders to charge in full gallop, supported by Oldham with the reserve; while the legion infantry, covered on its left by the riflemen, in whatever state the enemy might be found, was destined to carry the field pieces with fixed bayonets. Should he be apprised of our advance, and consequently prepared for our reception, Oldham, with his Marylanders, was ordered to take the place of the cavalry on the right of the legion infantry, and Rudolph, with the dragoons, to stand in reserve.

Thus arrayed, the divisions proceeded to their designated points, every precaution having been adopted to prevent discovery. The movement was conducted with the utmost precision and correspondency. When arriving within a few hundred yards of the expected theatre of glory, the farm and house was seen, but no enemy. The van of the horse gallopping to the house, found and brought off two of the enemy's staff, who had been delayed in settling for the subsistence of the detachment; and hearing from the family, that lieutenant colonel Tarleton would not advance above six miles further, Pickens and Lee instantly proceeded towards him, hoping that fortune would be more propitious upon the next occasion.

Thus did the bright prospect of the morning vanish, exciting of itself deep chagrin; rendered more galling, finding that Tarleton, believing himself perfectly secure, had been unusually remiss, and would have been caught in a condition out of which neither skill nor courage could have extricated him.

To give success, if possible, to this second attempt, it was determined to pass as a reinforcement sent from Hillsborough to lieutenant colonel Tarleton; and the two prisoners being placed in the centre of the cavalry, were charged to conduct themselves so as to give currency to the deception: in default of which, the serjeant having the care of them, was directed to put them to death instantly. The legion taking the lead, with the horse in front, lieutenant colonel Lee put himself at its head, to direct operations both delicate and important. This stratagem could not fail in imposing on the country people, however well acquainted they might be with the appearance of British troops, so far as respected the legion, inasmuch as both cavalry and infantry were dressed in short green coats, with other distinctions exactly resembling some of the enemy's light corps.

Lee's van officer, preceding him a few hundred yards only, was met by two well mounted young countrymen, who being accosted in the assumed character, promptly answered, that they were rejoiced in meeting us, having been sent forward by colonel Pyle for the purpose of ascertaining Tarleton's camp, to whom the colonel was repairing with four hundred loyalists. These youths were immediately sent to lieutenant colonel Lee, but were preceded by a dragoon, with the information imparted. Immediately upon the arrival of the dragoon Lee despatched his adjutant with the intelligence to brigadier Pickens, requesting him to place his riflemen (easily to be distinguished by the green twigs in their hats, the customary emblem of our militia in the South) on the left flank, out of sight; which was readily to be done, as we were then in a thick wood; at the same time to assure him that Lee was determined, in conformity with the concerted plan, to make an attempt with the legion, of turning the occurrence to advantage. The prisoners were also reminded, as was the serjeant having them in care, of the past order. This communication was scarcely finished, before the two dragoons rode up with the two countrymen, who were received with much apparent cordiality; Lee attentively listening with seeming satisfaction to their annunciation of the laudable spirit which had actuated colonel Pyle and his associates, and which they asserted was rapidly spreading through the country. Finding them completely deceived, (for they not only believed the troops they saw to be British, but overlooking what had been told them, took them to be Tarleton's, addressing the commandant as that officer;) Lee sent one of them back with the two dragoons to his van, thence to proceed to colonel Pyle with lieutenant colonel Tarleton's gratulations, and his request that he would be so good as to draw out on the margin of the road, so as to give convenient room for his much fatigued troops to pass without delay to their night position, while the other was detained to accompany the supposed Tarleton. Orders were at the same time despatched to the van officer to halt as soon as he got in sight of the loyalists.

As Lee approached his officer, who had halted, highly gratified with the propitious prospect, and listening to the overflowings of respect and devotion, falling incessantly from the lips of his young attendant, his comrade, who had been sent to colonel Pyle, returned with his expected compliance, announced in most respectful terms.

The column of horse now became complete by union with the van, and colonel Pyle was in sight on the right of the road, drawn up as suggested, with his left to the advancing column.* This last circumstance was fortunate, as lieutenant colonel Lee had concluded to make known to the colonel his real character as soon as he should confront him, with a solemn assurance of his and his associates' perfect exemption from injury, with the choice of returning to their homes, or of taking a more generous part, by uniting with the defenders of their common country against the common foe. By Pyle's lucky occupation of the right side of the road, it became necessary for Lee to pass along the whole line of the loyalists before he could reach their colonel; and thus to place his column of horse in the most eligible situation for any vicissitude.

They were mounted like our militia, fitted like them to move on horseback, and to fight dismounted. Their guns (rifles and fowling pieces) were on their shoulders, the muzzles consequently in an opposite direction to the cavalry. In the event of discovery, they must have changed the direction before they could fire,—a motion not to be performed, with a body of dragoons close in with their horses' heads and their swords drawn.

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* Had Pyle accidentally arrayed upon the left of the road, he would have been found on the right of his regiment, the flank first reached by the column of the horse. Some pretext must have been adopted to have moved on to the other flank, so as to place the horse in the requisite posture, before lieutenant colonel Lee could make the desired communication; therefore it was fortunate that he should have chosen the side of the road on which he was found posted.

The danger of this rare expedient was by no means so great as it appears to be on first view.

Lee passed along the line at the head of the column with a smiling countenance, dropping, occasionally, expressions complimentary to the good looks and commendable conduct of his loyal friends. At length he reached colonel Pyle, when the customary civilities were promptly interchanged. Grasping Pyle by the hand Lee was in the act of consummating his plan, when the enemy's left, discovering Pickens' militia, not sufficiently concealed, began to fire upon the rear of the cavalry commanded by captain Eggleston. This officer instantly turned upon the foe, as did immediately after the whole column. The conflict was quickly decided, and bloody on one side only. Ninety of the royalists were killed, and most of the survivors wounded. Dispersing in every direction, not being pursued, they escaped. During this sudden rencontre, in some parts of the line the cry of mercy was heard, coupled with assurance of being our best friends; but no expostulation could be admitted in a conjuncture so critical. Humanity even forbad it, as its first injunction is to take care of your own: and our safety was not compatible with that of the supplicants, until disabled to offend. Pyle, falling under many wounds, was left on the field as dying, and yet he survived. We lost not a man, and only one horse. The object so sedulously pressed was thus a second time baffled. Tarleton, within a mile, more fatally secure, if possible, than before, escaped the impending blow; when to get at him a measure had been hazarded, not warranted on ordinary occasions, but now enforced by the double motive of sparing the lives of deluded fellow citizens, and humbling effectually the British partisan and his active corps, whose destruction in the relative condition of the two armies would have probably led to the termination of the war in the South. Lord Cornwallis was at the head of a brave enterprising force, but small in number; too small, when reduced by the loss of Tarleton's corps, to have made head against Greene, when assisted, as the American general must have been, by the surrounding country, animated to their best exertions by such signal success.*

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* This transaction is thus circumstantially given to repel the unfounded stigma attached to the officer and corps engaged with colonel Pyle. Mr. Stedman, (of whose impartiality and respect for truth I have acknowledged my conviction) has from misinformation been led upon this occasion into a palpable mistake, or he would have refrained from the following observation: "when at last it became manifest, they called out for quarter, but no quarter was granted; and between two and three hundred of them were inhumanly butchered while in the act of begging for mercy. Humanity shudders at the recital of so foul a massacre; but cold and unfeeling policy avows it as the most effectual means of inti-

The discomfiture of Pyle being soon effected, Lee ordered the cavalry to resume its march, and to take post so as to arrest any sudden interference on the part of lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who must have heard the enemy's fire, and might probably interpose with the expectation of controlling the event of the conflict.

Brigadier Pickens, following quickly, soon reached the van of the legion, whose cavalry had approached in view of Tarleton's camp. Then were seen incontestible evidences of the embarrassing confusion which an unexpected enemy never fails to produce, even amongst the best disciplined troops,—demonstrating, without shadow of doubt, our certain success, had Pyle and his party been, as they ought to have been, at their own firesides. The sun was setting; and for

midating the friends of royal government." So far from its being a "foul massacre," growing out of cold and unfeeling policy, it was not foul, and was unintentional; and one of the two corps of cavalry, belonging to the army of Greene, was hazarded for the express purpose of preventing the necessity of imbruing our hands in the blood of our fellow citizens. The fire commenced upon us, and self-preservation commanded the limited destruction which ensued. Only ninety of the loyalists were killed; not between two and three hundred, as Mr. Stedman states: and less than ninety could not have been spared from the close condition of the dragoons, and the necessity of crushing resistance instantly. Had the officer or corps been capable of massacre, it was only necessary to have ordered pursuit, and not a man of the enemy would have escaped. So far from doing so, Lee resumed his march, leaving all that had dispersed to secure themselves without interruption.

some moments Pickens and Lee hesitated whether immediate action was not, even at that hour, the eligible course. The troops were fatigued by their long march, increased by preparation for two combats and the rencontre with Pyle. This consideration, combined with the close approach of night, determined them to postpone battle until the morning. Moving to their left, they placed themselves between the British and the upper country, on the great road leading through Tarleton's camp to Hillsborough. The advanced sentinels and the patroles were stationed every where in sight of each other.

Here they heard from some countrymen, who, abandoning their houses on the enemy's advance, had fallen in with Pickens, that a small party of militia had collected for mutual safety a few miles in the rear. A dragoon, attended by one of the informants, was immediately despatched with a letter to the officer, requesting him to hasten to camp; more for the purpose of procuring accurate information of the ground expected soon to be the theatre of action, and of furnishing faithful intelligent guides, than from any expectation of aid in battle. It so happened, that with the militia company was found colonel Preston, of Montgomery county in Virginia, just arrived at the head of three hundred hardy mountaineers, who, hearing of Greene's retreat, had voluntarily hastened to his assistance,--alike ignorant until that hour of the general's having recrossed the Dan, and of Tarleton's corps being but a few miles in front.

The wisdom of the measure so speedily adopted by the commander in the South, after securing his retreat, was again now happily illustrated. It not only produced the annihilation of the first body of loyalists which had embodied and armed, but probably saved from destruction a detachment of brave men, induced by love of country to seek and to succor their hard pressed friends. Colonel Preston accompanied the dragoon to camp, followed by his battalion of riflemen. Although Pickens and Lee were before determined to engage, such an opportune, unlooked-for auxiliary force, could not but excite new spirits in their troops, always proudly conscious of self-ability. Preston, his officers and soldiers, spent their first hour in gazing at the corps. They were much gratified with the orderly appearance it universally exhibited, and particularly delighted with the cheering looks of the dragoons and the high condition of their stout horses.

Our upper militia were never alarmed in meeting with equal numbers of British infantry. Selecting their own ground (which being mounted they could readily do) before they would engage, they considered themselves their equal; but they entertained dreadful apprehensions of the sabre of the cavalry, particularly when associated with the name of Tarleton, who had, on many occasions, used it with destructive effect. From this source was derived the satisfaction expressed on reviewing the legion horse. They became convinced, that no equal number of dragoons ought to excite the smallest apprehensions on our part, and they were assured, that the British cavalry was not only inferior in their horses, but very much so in horsemanship. Thoroughly satisfied, these welcome auxiliaries retired to their post, responding with ardor the general wish to be led to battle with the dawn of day. Every arrangement being made to meet the approaching conflict, the troops assumed the disposition in which they were to fight, and laid down to rest.

From the intelligence procured it was ascertained, that the field in which the British were encamped had three or four wood dwelling-houses on the road near its centre, and was sufficiently capacious to have admitted conveniently the major part of the respective combatants to close action. The legion infantry, led by lieutenant colonel Lee, marched along the road, for the purpose as before of attending specially to the enemy's artillery, of which it has been mentioned we were destitute. Oldham, with his Marylanders, advanced on its right, parallel with Lee; and on his right, in a wood skirting the field, brigadier Pickens moved, having under him some of the same soldiers who had so nobly supported Howard's right at the Cowpens. Colonel Preston covered Lee's left; having also the advantage of a copse of wood bordering the field in that direction, and being completely secured on his flank by a very extensive mill pond. The cavalry were formed in reserve, the head of the column pointing to the interval between Oldham and Pickens, where the field could be entered out of fire from the houses should Tarleton, as was apprehended, occupy them with musketry. Rudolph, who commanded the horse, was directed to fly to the aid of any portion of the troops hard pressed, as well as to be ready to improve our, and to limit their, victory. Between the hours of two and three in the morning concurring intelligence was received from the piquets and patroles, announcing that the enemy was in motion, and soon afterwards, that he was retiring.

The piquets being assembled by the officer of the day, were ordered to advance; while the main body, hastening to arms, followed with celerity. Anxious to know the cause of this sudden and unexpected movement, an officer was directed to call at the houses lately occupied by the enemy, for the purpose of inquiry. He reported that lord Cornwallis, having been apprised of the advance of Pickens and Lee, hastened his orders to lieutenant colonel Tarleton, communicating the information he had received, and requiring him to repass the Haw instantly; which order the lieutenant colonel very reluctantly obeyed. He further learned that Tarleton and his officers were in high spirits, had enjoyed an abundant supper together, and were anxiously wishing for the return of light, determined to take complete revenge for the loss of Pyle; and, assured of victory, delighted themselves with the prospect of mounting, in the course of the day, the chosen horses of the legion. So solicitous lord Cornwallis appears to have been, that he despatched three successive couriers, all of whom arrived; the two last, just as the British corps was ready to move. There were three contiguous passages of the Haw. The nearest within four miles, to be passed in a boat, which, from the size of the flat kept at the ferry and the narrowness of the river would not have been very inconvenient: the infantry and artillery might have been thrown over before daylight, and the cavalry would have readily swam across. One mile below was another ferry, alike commodious; and seven miles lower down was a ford, the same which both corps had used the day before. The legion, accustomed to night expeditions, had been in the habit of using pine torch for flambeaux. Supplied with this, though the morning was dark, the enemy's trail was distinctly discovered whenever a divergency took place in his route. He first took the road leading to the upper ferry, the direct route to Hillsborough; but it being always presumed that he would avail himself of the ford, though out of his way, the van officer took care occasionally to examine, by the help of his pine knots, and soon ascertained, that after passing some small distance on that road, he crossed to the second route. Here repeating his feint, he at length turned to the road leading to the ford.

The diligence of the leading officer saved to the main body loss of ground; as the enemy's stratagem was detected before we reached the points of their separation from each road. As the day broke, the American troops, pursuing with zeal, had reached within two miles of the ford. The cavalry now taking the front, supported by the riflemen, (all mounted) were ordered to press upon the enemy, and hold him back until the infantry could get up. Before sunrise they gained the enemy's rear, descending the hill to the river, over which the main body having just passed, was placed on a height commanding the ford, for the protection of the rear guard. Too near to be struck at without rashly exposing the troops, it was omitted; much as it was desired to gain some evidence of our triumphant pursuit. At first Pickens and Lee determined, by a quick retrograde, to pass at the ferry above, and to throw themselves in Tarleton's rear. This was effectible, in case he loitered only one hour on the banks of the Haw, a very probable event. But there was cause to apprehend, from the solicitude displayed by the British general to bring him safely back, that he would send a reinforcement to meet him. In this incertitude desire to give rest to the much fatigued troops prevailed; and, keeping up the western margin of the Haw, the corps halted in the first settlement capable of supplying the necessary subsistence. Thus closed twenty-four hours of very active service; its chief object uneffected, and a secondary one completely executed, which produced a very favorable result, by repressing thoroughly the loyal spirit just beginning to burst forth. Fortune, which sways so imperiously the affairs of war, demonstrated throughout the operation its supreme control. Nothing was omitted on the part of the Americans to give to the expedition the desired termination; but the very bright prospects which for a time presented themselves, were suddenly overcast,—the capricious goddess gave us Pyle and saved Tarleton.

General Greene, in pursuance of his plan, passed the Dan on the 23d, strengthened in a small degree by the corps of militia under Stevens, and took a direction towards the head waters of the Haw river. He was highly gratified by the success of his advanced troops, officially communicated to him after he had entered North Carolina; and was pleased to estimate the destruction of Pyle and his loyalists as more advantageous in its effects than would have been a victory over lieutenant colonel Tarleton.

Soon after Tarleton returned to Hillsborough the British general quitted his position,—moving with his whole force to the country from which Tarleton had been just chased, for the purpose of giving complete protection to his numerous friends inhabiting the district between the Haw and Deep rivers, whose danger in attempting to join him while so distantly situated, had lately been fatally exemplified. As soon as this movement on the part of his lordship was known to general Greene, he again resorted to his former expedient, of placing a strong light corps between him and the enemy. Colonel Williams was of course entrusted with its direction, who, moving towards his lordship, directed Pickens and Lee, a part of his establishment, to join him. Colonel Preston, still continuing with Pickens, now made a part of Williams's force. The return of Greene to North Carolina, and the destruction of colonel Pyle's loyalists, baffled the hopes so long entertained by the British general, and fast realizing after his possession of Hillsborough; where, in the course of one day seven independent companies of loyalists were raised. Lord Cornwallis's project of filling up his ranks with the youth of North Carolina, which he pressed by every means in his power, although suspended by the late event, was not abandoned. Determined to effect it, he had, as we have seen, left Hillsborough, and placed himself among his friends, whose spirits he wished to revive by some decisive success. Encamped upon the Almance, he held himself ready to seize any opportunity which might be presented, and heard with pleasure of the approach of our light corps under colonel Williams. This officer was his first object; the next was to force Greene to battle, which he believed would be risked by the American general to save his light troops. In the opinion of many, general Greene committed himself to much hazard in his newly adopted system. It was asked, why not continue in his safe position on the north of the Dan until, receiving all his expected succor, he could pass into North Carolina, seeking, instead of avoiding, his enemy. This safe and agreeable course was relinquished from necessity. Greene, penetrating Cornwallis's views, foresaw their certain success, if he remained long out of the state, waiting for reinforcements himself. He discerned the probability, that his enemy would acquire a greater proportionate strength: with the essential difference, that what we obtained would be mostly militia, a fluctuating force; whereas, that gained by the enemy would stand to him throughout the contest.

To arrest the progress of this scheme, pursued with pertenacity by the British general, it was necessary again to risk himself, his army, and the South. He therefore passed the Dan as soon as it was in his power; depending on the resources of his fertile mind, and the tried skill and courage of his faithful, though inferior, army. Crossing the Haw near its source, the American general established himself between Troublesome creek and Reedy fork. And changing his position every day, sometimes approaching colonel Williams, and then falling back upon the Troublesome, he held Cornwallis in perfect ignorance of his position, and stopped the possibility of sudden interruption. Showing himself in so many different quarters, he considerably augmented the fears of the loyalists, who had not yet recovered from the consternation produced by the slaughter of their associates. Williams pursued the same desultory game, preserving correspondency in his movements with those of Greene. As yet lord Cornwallis had not been able to find any opportunity to execute his purpose. Williams, more and more satisfied of his safety from his superiority in the quality of his cavalry, and wishing to take a distance whence he could conveniently interrupt the British parties while collecting provisions and forage, placed himself a few miles on the east side of Reedy fork, having the Almance creek between him and the enemy. Lord Cornwallis well knew the superiority of our horse; feeling it daily in the counteraction of his efforts to obtain intelligence, so important in military operations. Indisposed to such a near neighborhood with us, he moved from his camp at three o'clock on the 6th of March, and passing the Almance, pushed forward under the cover of a heavy fog, with the expectation of beating up Williams's quarters. The left of the light troops were composed of militia, who had lately joined under colonel Clarke, one of the heroes of King's mountain, relieving brigadier Pickens and the corps who had so faithfully adhered to general Greene during the trying scenes just passed. Clarke's militia were part of the conquerors of Ferguson; better suited, as has been before observed, for the field of battle than for the security of camp. In this quarter, through some remissness in the guards, and concealed by the fog, lieutenant colonel Webster, commanding the British van, approached close before he was discovered.

The alertness of the light troops soon recovered the momentary disadvantage; and the legion of Lee advancing to support Clarke, the enemy's van was held back, until colonel Williams, undisturbed, commenced his retreat, directing the two corps above mentioned to cover his rear. Having crossed the Reedy fork, Williams made a disposition, with the view of opposing the enemy's passage. Clarke, following Williams, joined on the opposite banks,--the infantry of the legion proceeding in the rear of Clarke, followed by the cavalry, which corps continued close to the enemy's advancing van. During this movement Webster made several efforts to bring the rear guard to action, having under him the British cavalry. All his endeavors were successively counteracted by the celerity and precision with which the legion horse manœuvred; establishing evidently in the face of the enemy their decided superiority.* As soon as lieutenant colonel Lee was apprised of the rear infantry's passage over the river, he retired by troops from before Webster in full gallop; and reaching Reedy fork, soon united with colonel Williams, unmolested. There being convenient fords over the creek, above and below, after Williams had safely brought over his corps, he determined no longer to continue in his position. Resuming retreat, he left the legion supported by colonel Clarke, with orders to retard the enemy as long as it was practicable, without hazarding serious injury. Lieutenant colonel Lee, having detached a company of Preston's militia to guard the pass at Wetzett's mill, a little distance upon his left, drew up his infantry in one line, with its right on the road, and its front parallel with the creek; while the riflemen under colonels Clarke and Preston, occupied a copse of heavy woods on the right of the road, with its left resting upon the right of the legion infantry.

The horse formed a second line in a field well situated to curb the progress of the British cavalry, should it press upon the first line when retiring, and to protect the horses of the militia, tied at some distance back, agreeably to usage. On the first appearance of the enemy colonel Williams despatched a courier to Greene, communicating what had passed, and advising him of the course he should pursue after crossing the Reedy fork. Unwilling to approximate Greene, this officer moved slowly, waiting the disclosure of the enemy's intention. Should he halt on the opposite side of the creek, colonel Williams would take his night position within a few miles of Wetzett's mill, giving time to the troops to prepare food before dark; but should the enemy advance to the hither side, he would necessarily continue his retreat, however much opposed to his wishes. This state of suspense lasted but a little while. The British van appeared; and after a halt for a few minutes on the opposite bank, descended the hill approaching the water, where, receiving a heavy fire of musketry and rifles, it fell back, and quickly reascending, was rallied on the margin of the bank. Here a field officer rode up, and in a loud voice addressing his soldiers, he rushed down the hill at their head, our fire pouring upon him, and plunged into the water. In the woods occupied by the riflemen, stood an old log school-house, a little to the right of the ford. The mud stuffed between the logs had mostly fallen out, and the apertures admitted the use of rifles with ease. In this house twenty-five select marksmen, of King's mountain militia, were posted by Lee, with orders to forego taking any part in the general resistance, but to hold themselves in reserve for particular objects. The leading officer plunging in the water, attracted general notice; and the school-house party, recollecting its order, singled him out as their mark. The stream being deep, and the bottom rugged, he advanced slowly; his soldiers on each side of him, and apparently some of them holding his stirrup leathers. This select party discharged their rifles at him, one by one, each man sure of knocking him over; and having reloaded, eight or nine of them emptied their guns a second time at the same object.* Strange to tell, though in a condition so perilous, himself and horse were untouched; and having crossed the creek, he soon formed his troops, and advanced upon us. The moment that the head of his column got under cover of our banks, lieutenant colonel Lee directed the line to retire from its flanks, and gain the rear of the cavalry. In the skirmish which ensued in our centre, after some of the enemy ascended the bank, three or four prisoners fell into our hands. The enemy's column being now formed, soon dislodged our centre; and pushing Lee, came in front of the cavalry. Here it paused, until the British horse, which followed the infantry, passed the creek and took post on the enemy's right,—the nearest point to the road, which we must necessarily take. This attitude indicated a decision to interrupt our retreat; at all events to cut off our rear.

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* No country in the world affords better riders than the United States, especially the states south of Pennsylvania. The boys from seven years of age begin to mount horses; riding without saddle, and often, in the fields, when sent for a horse, without bridles. They go to mill on horseback, and perform all the other small domestic services mounted. Thus they become so completely versed in the art of riding by the time they reach puberty, as to equal the most expert horsemen any where.

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* The twenty-five riflemen were selected from their superior excellence as marksmen. It was no uncommon amusement among them to put an apple on the point of a ramrod, and holding it in the hand with the arm extended, to permit their comrades, known to be expert, to fire at it; when many balls would pass through the apple; and yet lieutenant colonel Webster, mounted upon a stout horse, in point blank shot, slowly moving through a deep water course, was singled out by this party, who fired, seriatim, thirty-two or three times at him, and neither struck him nor his horse.

Lee ordered Rudolph to incline in an oblique direction to his left; and, gaining the road, to wait the expected charge. Tarleton advanced with his cavalry, followed by Webster. The legion infantry, close in the rear of the riflemen, had now entered the road, considerably advanced towards colonel Williams, still waiting in his position first taken for night quarters, and afterwards held to protect the rear guard. Rudolph, with the cavalry, was drawn off, moving slowly, with orders to turn upon the British horse if they should risk a charge.

It was now late in the evening, and nothing more was attempted. The British halted on the ground selected by Williams for our use, which he had abandoned. Having proceeded some miles further, he encamped on the northeast side of a range of hills covered with wood, some distance from the road: thus our fires were concealed from view, while the margin of the road and every avenue to our camp was vigilantly guarded.

General Greene, as soon as he was advised in the morning of the enemy's advance, retired and passed the Haw; repeating, in his answer, his order to colonel Williams to avoid action, which he well knew was very practicable, unless our cavalry should meet with disaster. As soon as all appearance of further contest ceased, the prisoners, as was customary, were brought to the commandant; who, among other inquiries, asked, what officer led the enemy into the creek, and crossed with the leading section of the column? He was told, that it was lieutenant colonel Webster; and that he had passed unhurt.

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. That superior soldier, whose life was in such imminent danger, was now safely shielded, though doomed to fall in a very few days.

Lord Cornwallis, finding that his attempt to bring Greene to action issued only in wearing down his brave army, and convinced that Williams was unassailable so long as he preserved his superiority in cavalry, withdrew towards Bell's mill, on Deep river, with the resolution of restoring, by rest, the strength of his troops, and of holding it up for that decisive day, which, from his knowledge of the character of his adversary, he was assured would arrive as soon as he had acquired his expected reinforcements. The last ten days presented a very interesting and edifying scene. Two generals of high talents, ardently supported by their respective armies, contending, by a series of daring manœuvres, for a vast prize, which either might have lost by one false step. Had Cornwallis risked any partial operations against Williams, the destruction of the assailing corps would have led to the capture of the British army; whereas, had Greene, by incorrect intelligence or mistaken calculations, placed himself within reach of the British general, our army would have been cut to pieces. The loyalists looked on with anxious solicitude; and, finding that all the efforts of the royal leader were unavailing,—the American army retaining its ground, and its active cavalry penetrating in every direction,—they recurred to past admonition, and determined to repress their zeal, and to wait in quietude until the British superiority should be manifested by signal success.

Thus the American general completely succeeded in his object, adding a new claim to the high confidence already acquired, and leaving it doubtful which most to admire,—his sagacity in counsel, his promptitude in decision, or his boldness and skill in execution.

In this position, at the iron works on Troublesome creek, general Greene received the pleasing intelligence, that his reinforcements and supplies were approaching; and hearing at the same time from colonel Williams, that lord Cornwallis had retired from the contest of skill, determined to give repose to his troops and wait for his long expected succor. In a few days the new levies under lieutenant colonel Greene, and the militia from Virginia under brigadier general Lawson, with a part of the supplies and stores so much wanted, reached camp. The levies were distributed in the regiments of Virginia, commanded by the lieutenant colonels Greene and Hawes. The militia being united to those collected by Stevens while at Halifax court-house, were divided in two brigades, under the direction of that general and brigadier Lawson; who, like Stevens, had commanded a continental regiment, and with many other brave and active officers, had been left without troops by the compression of our regular corps; yet being unwilling to abandon the service of their country, still in jeopardy, had offered to take command of the militia.

Soon afterward came in the North Carolina force, led by the brigadiers Butler and Eaton. Previously colonels Campbell and Preston and Lynch* had joined, whose united corps did not exceed six hundred, rank and file. Our force now was estimated at four thousand five hundred, horse, foot, and artillery; of which, the continental portion did not amount to quite one thousand six hundred. To acquaint himself with the character of his late accession of troops, and to make ready the many requisite preparations for service, the general continued in his position at the iron works, having drawn in most of the light corps. The legion of Lee, and the Virginia militia attached to it under the colonels Preston and Clarke, still hovered around the enemy under the direction of lieutenant colonel Lee.

The American dragoons, far superior in the ability of their horses, stuck so close to the British camp as to render their intercourse with the country very difficult, and subjected the British general to many inconveniences, besides interrupting his acquirement of intelligence.

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* Colonels Clarke and Preston had been with the light troops for some days; succeeding the corps under brigadier Pickens, now returned home. Colonel Lynch had lately joined, commanding one of the battalions of the Virginia militia, which arrived under brigadier Lawson.

No equal party of the enemy's horse would dare to encounter them; and if a superior force approached, the fleetness of their horses mocked pursuit. Feeling his privations daily, lord Cornwallis, leaving his baggage to follow, made a sudden movement late in the evening from Bell's mill towards New Garden, a quaker settlement, abounding with forage and provisions. Some of the small parties of the legion horse, traversing in every quarter, one of them approached Bell's mill, and found it abandoned. When informed by the inhabitants that the baggage had but lately proceeded under a very small escort, the officer commanding the horse determined to trace secretly the progress of its march. It so happened, that early in the night the escort with the whole baggage mistook the road; proceeding directly on, instead of turning towards New Garden. Fortunately the vigilant officer discovered this error; and having ascertained the fact beyond doubt, he despatched a courier to lieutenant colonel Lee with the information, attended by two guides well acquainted with the route taken by the British army, that taken by the escort, and the intermediate cross-roads. The intelligence reached Lee about eleven o'clock, (later than was expected) as he had, from the advance of the enemy, taken a more distant position. Instantly the legion horse, with two companies of infantry mounted behind two of the troops, were put in motion: lieutenant colonel Lee taking the guides sent to him, advanced with the certain expectation of falling in with the lost escort. The night was extremely dark, and the country covered with woods; but the guides were faithful, intelligent, and intimately versed in all the roads, bye-roads, and even paths. Estimating the distance to march by their computation, it did not exceed nine miles, which we reckoned, dark as was the night, to make in two hours. Pushing on with all practicable despatch, the first hour brought us to a large road: this the guides passed, leading the detachment again into a thick wood. Here we continued another hour; when, finding no road, doubts began to be entertained by the guides, which issued at last in attempting to return to the very road they had passed, it being concluded to be the one desired. Unhappily they became bewildered, after changing their course, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left; ever believing every change would surely bring us to our desired route, and yet always disappointed.

At length with great anxiety they proposed a halt, while themselves, accompanied by a few dragoons, should take different directions on our flanks in search of a house. This was readily acceded to, and the detachment dismounted, having not before halted. In the space of an hour one of them returned, and shortly after the other, both without success. It was now three o'clock, as well as we could make out the time by feeling the hour and minute-hands of our watches. Again we mounted, and again moved as our guides directed; more and more bewildered, and more and more distressed; persevering, and yet in vain. Lieutenant colonel Lee, apprehensive that the detachment might be carried too remote from the place assigned for junction in the morning with the militia under Clarke, again halted and dismounted, determining to wait for the light of day. It at last to our great joy appeared; and even then our guides were so completely out of their reckoning, as to detain us a long time in the woods before they were satisfied of the course to be taken.

By examining the bark of the trees they ascertained the north, and thus recovered their knowledge of our locality. We were within a mile of the road we had crossed, and which turned out to be the very road desired. When we passed it the enemy were, as was afterwards ascertained, two miles only on our right, as much bewildered as ourselves. For finding that they had not reached camp within the period expected, calculating time from distance; and knowing that New Garden must be upon their left; they took a cross road which offered, and soon found themselves encompassed with new difficulties,—fallen trees, and cross-ways as large as the road they had pursued:—when the officer determined to halt and wait for day.* Lord Cornwallis became extremely alarmed for the safety of his baggage; despatching parties of horse and foot in various directions to fall in with it, and detaching in the rear of these parties a strong corps to reinforce the escort. Not one of the various detachments either met with the escort or with Lee. As soon as it was light, the officer having charge of the baggage retraced his steps; and shortly after gaining the road he had left in the night, fell in with the last detachment sent by lord Cornwallis, and with it safely reached the British

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* Upon Lee's junction with Clarke, he found a packet from general Greene to lord Cornwallis, which he sent off the ensuing morning by cornet Middleton, of South Carolina, with a flag. The cornet reached the British piquet just after the captain had breakfasted, and was politely invited to take breakfast, while the packet for his lordship should be sent to headquarters, from whence a reply would be forwarded, if requisite, which Middleton could

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convey. Cornwallis was on his rounds, agreeably to his custom; and soon after Middleton had finished his breakfast, called at the piquet, when he was informed by the captain, of the packet from general Greene, with his detention of the officer for the answer, if any was requisite. His lordship dismounting, entered the captain's quarters, where cornet Middleton was introduced to him. Presuming from his dress that he belonged to Lee's legion, he asked if he did not belong to that corps; and being answered in the affirmative, with a smile he significantly inquired where it had been the preceding night. The amiable Middleton, somewhat surprised and confounded at a query so unexpected, with evident confusion replied, that it had not been far off. Upon which lord Cornwallis familiarly said, the object of his inquiry was unimportant, the matter to which it related being past; and that he asked the information to gratify his curiosity. Middleton, blushing, then told him, that lieutenant colonel Lee had received intelligence of his lordship's escort, with the baggage and stores, being lost in the night, and instantly proceeded in the expectation of putting them in the right course. This idea tickling the British general, he laughingly asked, "Well, why did he not do it." Because, says Middleton, we got lost ourselves; traversing the roads all night, and as it appeared afterwards within two miles of our much desired prize. Turning to his aids, Cornwallis said, "You see I was not mistaken."

camp; while lieutenant colonel Lee and his harassed legion, with his afflicted guides, much mortified, joined Clarke. Here he found orders from general Greene, now nearly prepared for forward movement, to return to camp. The British general remained in his new position; enjoying, without interruption, the wholesome supplies with which this fertile settlement abounded. Lee having proceeded towards the iron works, found the American army on the 14th at Guilford court-house, distant about twelve miles from the enemy; and was immediately advanced on the road towards the quaker meetinghouse, with orders to post himself within two or three miles of the court-house, and to resume his accustomed duties. Lieutenant Heard, of the legion cavalry, was detached in the evening with a party of dragoons to place himself near the British camp, and to report from time to time such occurrences as might happen. About two in the morning this officer communicated, that a large body of horse were approaching the meetinghouse, which was not more than six miles from our headquarters, and near the point where the road from Deep river intersects the great road leading from Salisbury to Virginia. The intelligence received was instantly forwarded to the general, and Heard was directed to proceed with a few of his dragoons down the flank of the enemy to discover whether the British army was in motion, leaving his second to hold their front. Hearing from Heard, agreeably to rule, every half hour, it was known, that the enemy continued, though slowly, to approach; and at length he communicated, that his various attempts to pass down the flank as directed, had proved abortive, having been uniformly interrupted by patroles ranging far from the line of march; yet that he was persuaded that he heard the rumbling of wheels, which indicated a general movement. This being made known to general Greene, Lee was directed to advance with his cavalry, to bear down these interruptions, and to ascertain the truth. Expecting battle as soon as Heard's last information was received, the van was called to arms at four in the morning, and to take breakfast with all practicable haste. This had just been finished, when the last mentioned order from the general was communicated. Lieutenant colonel Lee instantly mounted, and took the road to the enemy, at the head of the horse, having directed the infantry and the rifle militia to follow, the first on his right, and the second on his left. The cavalry had not proceeded above two miles when Lee was met by lieutenant Heard and his party, who were retiring, followed leisurely by the enemy's horse. Wishing to approach nearer to Greene, and at all events to gain the proximity of the rifle militia and legion infantry, lest the British army might be up, as was suspected, Lee ordered the column to retire by troops, taking the proper distance for open evolution. The rear troop under Rudolph going off in full gallop, and followed in like manner by the centre troop under Eggleston, the British commandant flattered himself with converting this retrograde movement into route, and pressed upon the front under Armstrong, still in a walk, it being necessary to gain the open order required, that this officer should not change his pace. With him marched lieutenant colonel Lee, attentively watching the British progress. Finding that the charge made at us did not affect Armstrong's troop, now the rear, the enemy emptied their pistols, and then raising a shout, pushed a second time upon Armstrong; who, remaining firm and sullen as before, the leading section having nearly closed with us, drew up.

At this moment, Lee ordering charge, the dragoons came instantly to the right about, and, in close column, rushed upon the foe. This meeting happened in a long lane, with very high curved fences on each side of the road, which admitted but one section in front. The charge was ordered by Lee, from conviction that he should trample his enemy under feet, if he dared to meet the shock; and thus gain an easy and complete victory. But only the front section of each corps closed, Tarleton sounding a retreat, the moment he discovered the column in charge. The whole of the enemy's section was dismounted, and many of the horses prostrated;* some of the dragoons killed, the rest made prisoners: not a single American soldier or horse injured. Tarleton retired with celerity; and getting out of the lane, took an obscure way leading directly across the Salisbury road towards the British camp,—while Lee, well acquainted with the country, followed the common route by the quaker meetinghouse, with a view to sever the British lieutenant colonel from his army, by holding him well upon his left, and with the determination to gain his front, and then to press directly upon him with his condensed force; and thus place his horse between Tarleton and Cornwallis, presumed to be some distance behind. By endeavoring to take the whole detachment, he permitted the whole to escape; whereas, had he continued to press on the rear, he must have taken many. As Lee, with his column in full speed, got up to the meetinghouse, the British guards had just reached it; and displaying in a moment, gave the American cavalry a close and general fire. The sun had just risen above the trees, and shining bright, the refulgence from the British muskets, as the soldiers presented, frightened Lee's horse so as to compel him to throw himself off. Instantly remounting another, he ordered a retreat. This manœuvre was speedily executed; and while the cavalry were retiring, the legion infantry came running up with trailed arms, and opened a well aimed fire upon the

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* This is not stated with a view to extol one, or disparage the other corps; but merely to state the fact. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton was obliged to use such horses as he could get; whereas his opponent had the whole South to select out of. The consequence was, the British dragoons were mounted upon small weak horses: those of the legion on stout, active horses, and kept in the highest condition. When they met, the momentum of the one must crush the other; and if he fled he could not escape from

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his enemy, so excellently mounted. There was very little credit, with such superior means, due to the Americans upon victory; whereas, the disgrace of defeat would have been extreme, and Lee's corps ought to have been decimated.

guards, which was followed in a few minutes by a volley from the riflemen under colonel Campbell, who had taken post on the left of the infantry. The action became very sharp, and was bravely maintained on both sides.* The cavalry having formed again in column, and Lee being convinced, from the appearance of the guards, that Cornwallis was not far in the rear, drew off his infantry; and covering them from any attempt of the British horse, retired towards the American army. General Greene, being immediately advised of what had passed, prepared for battle; not doubting, that the long avoided, now wished for, hour was at hand.

Guilford court-house, erected near the great state road, is situated on the brow of a declivity, which descends gradually with an undulating slope for about a half mile. It terminates in a small vale, intersected by a rivulet. On the right of the road is open ground with some few copses of wood until you gain the last step of the descent, where you see thick glades of brushy wood reaching across the rivulet. On the left of the road from the court-house, a deep forest of lofty trees, which terminates nearly in a line with the termination of the field on the opposite side of the road. Below this forest is a small piece of open ground, which appeared to have been cultivated in corn the preceding summer. This small field was long, but narrow, reaching close to the swamp bordering upon the rivulet.

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* The British sustained a much heavier loss in killed and wounded than we did. His fire was innocent, overshooting the cavalry entirely; whose caps and accoutrements were all stuck with green twigs, cut by the British ball out of the large oaks in the meetinghouse yard, under which the cavalry received the volley from the guards. Some of the infantry and riflemen were killed, and more wounded: among them was lieutenant Snowden, of the legion infantry, who, with most of the wounded, was necessarily left on the field.

Lee, after the battle of Guilford, wrote to lieutenant colonel Tarleton, asking his care of the wounded of the legion and rifle corps; it being common for officers, in the habit of meeting in the course of service, mutually to solicit such favors. Tarleton very politely answered by an amanuensis, that he would, with pleasure, execute the request; and apologised for not writing himself; saying, that he had received a ball in his right hand in our morning rencontre. Captain Schuty, of the guards, was badly wounded, with other officers and soldiers of that corps.

In the road captain Singleton was posted, in a line with the termination of the large field and the commencement of the small one, with two six pounders within close shot of the rivulet, where the enemy, keeping the road, would pass. Across the road on his left, some few yards in his rear, the North Carolina militia were ranged under generals Butler and Eaton. At some distance behind this line, the Virginia militia, led by the generals Stevens and Lawson, were formed in a deep wood; the right flank of Stevens and the left flank of Lawson resting on the great road. The continental infantry, consisting of four regiments, were drawn up in the rear of the Virginia militia, in the field to the right of the road; the two regiments of Virginia, conducted by colonel Greene and lieutenant colonel Hawes, under the order of brigadier Huger, composing the right; and the two of Maryland, led by colonel Gunby and lieutenant colonel Ford, under the orders of colonel Williams, composing the left. Of these, only the regiment of Gunby was veteran; the three others were composed of new soldiers, among whom were mingled a few who had served from the beginning of the war; but all the officers were experienced and approved. Greene, well informed of his enemy's inferiority in number, knew he could present but one line, and had no reserve; considering it injudicious to weaken either of his lines by forming one. On the right, lieutenant colonel Washington, with his cavalry, the old Delaware company under the brave captain Kirkwood, and colonel Lynch with a battalion of the Virginia militia, was posted, with orders to hold safe that flank. For the same purpose, and with the same orders, lieutenant colonel Lee was stationed on the left flank with his legion and the Virginia riflemen commanded by colonel Clarke.

In the rear line our small park was placed, with the exception of two sixes with captain Singleton,—who was now with the front line, but directed to repair to the rear as soon as the enemy should enter into close battle, and there take his assigned station.

As soon as the British van appeared Singleton opened a cannonade upon it,—convincing lord Cornwallis of his proximity to the American army. Lieutenant M'Cleod, commanding the royal artillery, hastened up with two pieces, and, stationing himself in the road near the rivulet, returned our fire. Thus the action commenced: the British general in the mean time arranging his army in order of battle. Although he could form but one full line, he took the resolution of attacking an able general advantageously posted, with a force more than double, a portion whereof he knew to be excellent, supported by a cavalry of the first character. Yet such was his condition, that lord Cornwallis was highly gratified with having it in his power, even on such terms, to appeal to the sword. The seventy-first, with the regiment of Bose, formed his right under the order of major general Leslie; his left was composed of the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant colonel Webster.

The royal artillery, directed by lieutenant M'Cleod, and supported by the light infantry of the guards and the yagers, moved along the road in the centre. The first battalion of guards, under lieutenant colonel Norton, gave support to the right. While brigadier O'Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, maintained the left. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry in column, formed the reserve on the road, in the rear of the artillery.

The moment the head of the British column passed the rivulet, the different corps, in quick step, deployed to the right and left, and soon were ranged in line of battle.

Leslie instantly advanced upon the North Carolina militia. These troops were most advantageously posted under cover of a rail fence, along the margin of the woods; and Campbell's riflemen and the legion infantry connected in line with the North Carolina militia, turning with the fence as it approached the rivulet, raked by their fire the right of the British wing, entirely uncovered:—the legion cavalry, in the woods, in a column pointing to the angular corner of the fence ready to support the militia on its right, or the infantry of the legion to its left. The appearance in this quarter was so favorable that sanguine hopes were entertained by many of the officers, from the manifest advantage possessed, of breaking down the enemy's right before he approached the fence; and the troops exhibited great zeal and alacrity.

Lieutenant colonel Webster took his part with his usual ability,—moving upon the Virginia militia, who were not so advantageously posted as their comrades of North Carolina, yet gave every indication of maintaining their ground with obstinacy. Stevens, to give efficacy to this temper, and stung with the recollection of their inglorious flight in the battle of Cambden, had placed a line of sentinels in his rear with orders to shoot every man that flinched. When the enemy came within long shot, the American line, by order, began to fire. Undismayed, the British continued to advance; and having reached a proper distance, discharged their pieces and rent the air with shouts. To our infinite distress and mortification, the North Carolina militia took to flight, a few only of Eaton's brigade excepted, who clung to the militia under Clarke; which, with the legion, manfully maintained their ground. Every effort was made by the generals Butler and Eaton, assisted by colonel Davie, commissary general, with many of the officers of every grade, to stop this unaccountable panic; for not a man of the corps had been killed, or even wounded. Lieutenant colonel Lee joined in the attempt to rally the fugitives, threatening to fall upon them with his cavalry. All was vain,—so thoroughly confounded were these unhappy men, that, throwing away arms, knapsacks, and even canteens, they rushed like a torrent headlong through the woods. In the mean time the British right became so injured by the keen and advantageous contest still upheld by Clarke and the legion, as to render it necessary for Leslie to order into line his support under lieutenant colonel Norton, a decided proof of the difficult condition to which he must have been soon reduced, had the North Carolina militia done their duty. The chasm in our order of battle, produced by this base desertion, was extremely detrimental in its consequences; for being seized by Leslie, it threw the corps of Lee out of combination with the army, and also exposed it to destruction. General Leslie, turning the regiment of Bose, with the battalion of guards, upon Lee, pressed forward himself with the seventy-first to cover the right of Webster,—now keenly engaged with the Virginia militia; and seized the most advantageous position, which he preserved through the battle. Noble was the stand of the Virginia militia; Stevens and Lawson, with their faithful brigades, contending for victory against the best officer in the British army, at the head of two regiments, distinguished for intrepidity and discipline; and so firmly did they maintain the battle (secured on their flank by the position taken by Washington, who, anxious to contribute to the aid of his brave countrymen, introduced Lynch's battalion of riflemen upon the flank of Webster, already fully engaged in front) that brigadier O'Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of the guards were brought into the line in support of Webster. As soon as this assistance was felt, lieutenant colonel Webster, turning the thirty-third upon Lynch, relieved his flank of all annoyance; and instantly O'Hara, advancing with the remainder of the left wing with fixed bayonets, aided by the seventy-first under Leslie, compelled first Lawson's brigade and then Steven's to abandon the contest. Unhappily the latter general received a ball through his thigh, which accelerated not a little the retreat of his brigade. The militia no longer presented even the show of resistance: nevertheless, such had been the resolution with which the corps under Lee, sustaining itself on the left against the first battalion of guards and the regiment of Bose, and so bravely did the Virginia militia support the action on the right, that, notwithstanding the injurious desertion of the first line without exchanging a shot, every corps of the British army, excepting the cavalry still in reserve, had been necessarily brought into battle, and many of them had suffered severely. It cannot be doubted, had the North Carolina militia rivalled that of Virginia upon this occasion, that lord Cornwallis must have been defeated; and even now the continental troops being in full vigor, and our cavalry unhurt, there was good ground yet to expect victory.

Persevering in his determination to die or to conquer, the British general did not stop to concentrate his force, but pressed forward to break our second line. The action, never intermitting on his right, was still sternly maintained by colonel Norton's battalion of guards and the regiment of Bose with the rifle militia and the legion infantry; so that this portion of the British force could not be brought to bear upon the third line, supported by colonel Washington at the head of the horse, and Kirkwood's Delaware company. General Greene was well pleased with the present prospect, and flattering himself with a happy conclusion, passed along the line, exhorting his troops to give the finishing blow. Webster, hastening over the ground occupied by the Virginia militia, sought with zeal the continental line, and presently approached its right wing. Here was posted the first regiment of Maryland, commanded by colonel Gunby, having under him lieutenant colonel Howard. The enemy rushed into close fire; but so firmly was he received by this body of veterans, supported by Hawe's regiment of Virginia and Kirkwood's company of Delawares, (being weakened in his contest with Steven's brigade, and as yet unsupported, the troops to his right not having advanced from inequality of ground or other impediments) that with equal rapidity he was compelled to recoil from the shock.

Recrossing a ravine in his rear, Webster occupied an advantageous height, waiting for the approach of the rest of the line. Very soon lieutenant colonel Stuart, with the first battalion of guards, appeared in the open field, followed successively by the remaining corps, all anxious to unite in this last effort. Stuart, discovering Ford's regiment of Maryland on the left of the first regiment, and a small copse of woods concealing Gunby, pushed forward upon Ford, who was strengthened by captain Finley with two six pounders. Colonel Williams, commanding the Maryland line, charmed with the late demeanor of the first regiment, hastened towards the second, expecting a similar display, and prepared to combine his whole force with all practicable celerity; when, unaccountably, the second regiment gave way, abandoning to the enemy the two field pieces.

Gunby being left free by Webster's recession, wheeled to his left upon Stuart, who was pursuing the flying second regiment. Here the action was well fought; each corps manfully struggling for victory; when lieutenant colonel Washington, who had, upon the discomfiture of the Virginia militia, placed himself upon the flank of the continentals, agreeably to the order of battle, pressed forward with his cavalry.

Stuart beginning to give ground, Washington fell upon him sword in hand, followed by Howard with fixed bayonets, now commanding the regiment in consequence of Gunby being dismounted. This combined operation was irresistible. Stuart fell by the sword of captain Smith, of the first regiment; the two field pieces were recovered; his battalion driven back with slaughter,—its remains being saved by the British artillery, which, to stop the ardent pursuit of Washington* and Howard, opened upon friends as well as foes; for Cornwallis, seeing the vigorous advance of these two officers, determined to arrest their progress, though every ball, levelled at them, must pass through the flying guards. Checked by this cannonade, and discovering one regiment passing from the woods on the enemy's right, across the road, and another advancing in front, Howard believing himself to be out of support, retired, followed by Washington.

To these two regiments, (which were the seventy-first, which general Leslie had so judiciously conducted after the ignominious flight of the North Carolina militia, and the twenty-third, the right of Webster,) brigadier O'Hara, though grievously wounded, brought the remnant of the first battalion of guards, whom he in person rallied; and, with the grenadiers, filled up the interval between the left and right wing.

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* "After passing through the guards into the open ground, Washington, who always led the van, perceived an officer surrounded by several persons, appearing to be aids-de-camp. Believing this to be lord Cornwallis, he rushed on with the hope of making him prisoner, when he was arrested by an accident. His cap fell from his head, and as he leaped to the ground to recover it, the officer leading his column was shot through the body and rendered incapable of managing his horse. The animal wheeled round with his rider and galloped off the field: he was followed by all the cavalry, who supposed this movement had been directed."—Marshall's Life of Washington.

Webster, the moment Stuart appeared in the field, putting Ford to flight, recrossed the ravine and attacked Hawes' regiment of Virginia, supported by Kirkwood's company. The action was renewed in this quarter with vigor; the seventy-first and twenty-third, connected in their centre by the first battalion and grenadier guards, having at the same time moved upon Howard. Meanwhile the long impending contest upon the enemy's right continued without intermission; each of the combatants getting gradually nearer to the flanks of their respective armies, to close with which was the desired object of both. At length lieutenant colonel Norton, with his battalion of guards, believing the regiment of Bose adequate to the contest, and close to the great road to which he had been constantly inclining, pressed forward to join the seventy-first. Relieved from this portion of the enemy, lieutenant colonel Lee dispensed with his cavalry, heretofore held in the rear to cover retreat in case of disaster, ordering it to close with the left of the continental line, and there to act until it should receive further orders. Upon Bose the rifle and the legion infantry now turned with increased animation and with confidence of success. Lieutenant colonel Buisy, of the regiment of Bose, continued to defend himself with obstinacy; but pressed as he was by superior force, he at length gave ground, and fell back into the rear of Norton. Still annoying him with the rifle corps under Clarke, Lee hastened with his infantry to rejoin his cavalry upon the flank of the continentals, the point so long and vainly contended for. In his route he found the battalion of guards under Norton in possession of the height first occupied by Lawson's brigade of Virginia militia. With this corps again the legion infantry renewed action; and supported by the van company of the riflemen, its rear still waiting upon lieutenant colonel Buisy, drove it back upon the regiment of Bose. Every obstacle now removed, Lee pressed forward, followed by Clarke, and joined his horse close by Guilford court-house.

Having seen the flight of the second regiment of Maryland, preceded by that of the North Carolina militia,—the corps of Lee severed from the army, and considering it, if not destroyed, at least thrown out of the action by Leslie's judicious seizure of the interval produced by the panic of the North Carolina militia, and in all probability not able to regain its station in the line,--Greene, immutable in the resolution never to risk annihilation of his force, and adverting to his scanty supply of ammunition, determined, when he found all his personal efforts seconded by colonels Williams and Carrington to rally the second regiment of Maryland nugatory, to provide for retreat. Colonel Greene, one of the bravest of brave soldiers, with his regiment of Virginia, was drawn off without having tasted of battle, and ordered to a given point in the rear for the security of this movement.* Had general

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* Colonel Greene was much dissatisfied with the general's selection of his regiment for this service, though esteemed among the most honorable,—so anxious was the veteran officer to be led at once into keen conflict.

Greene known how severely his enemy was crippled, and that the corps under Lee had fought their way to his continental line, he would certainly have continued the conflict; and in all probability would have made it a drawn day, if not have secured to himself the victory. Ignorant of these facts, and finding Webster returned to battle,—O'Hara, with his rallied guards in line,—and general Leslie, with the seventy-first, connected with them on the right, and followed, as he well knew, by the remnant of his wing,—he persevered in his resolution and directed a retreat, which was performed deliberately under cover of colonel Greene. General Huger, who had, throughout the action, given his chief attention to the regiment of Hawes', the only one of the two, constituting his brigade, ever engaged, and which, with Kirkwood's company, was still contending

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When it was announced upon the first of the retreat, that the British were close advancing, he became better humored; but soon the pursuit was discontinued, and his sourness returned. His friends would often console him by stating his selection as an evidence of the confidence reposed in him as a soldier. This would not satisfy the colonel, who never failed to reply that he did not like such sort of distinction; and he hoped the general would, upon the next occasion, attach to some other regiment the honor of covering his retreat. Getting to the general's ear, he took the first opportunity of telling the colonel, whom he much esteemed and respected, that he had heard he did not relish the post assigned to his regiment the other day. No, that I did not, replied the old colonel. Well, rejoined Greene, be patient: you shall have the first blow the next time. This delighted the colonel; and he always reckoned upon the promised boon with pleasure.

with lieutenant colonel Webster, now drew it off by order of the general; while colonel Williams effected the same object in his quarter; both abandoning our artillery, as their horses had been mostly killed; and general Greene preferred leaving his artillery to risking the loss of lives in drawing them off by hand. Just after this had taken place lieutenant colonel Lee joined his cavalry at the court-house; and, unpursued, retired down the great Salisbury road, until a cross-road enabled him to pass over to the line of retreat. The seventy-first and twenty-third regiments, supported by the cavalry of Tarleton, followed our army with the show of falling upon it; but the British general soon recalled them, and general Greene, undisturbed, was left to pursue his retreat. He halted first three miles from the field of battle to collect stragglers and fugitives, and afterwards retired leisurely to his former position at the iron works.

The pertinacity with which the rifle corps of Campbell and the legion infantry had maintained the battle on the enemy's right, induced lord Cornwallis to detach the British horse to that quarter. The contest had long been ebbing before this corps arrived; and lieutenant colonel Tarleton found only a few resolute marksmen in the rear of Campbell, who continued firing from tree to tree. The appearance of cavalry determined these brave fellows to retire and overtake their corps.

Thus the battle terminated. It was fought on the 15th of March, a day never to be forgotten by the southern section of the United States. The atmosphere calm and illumined with a cloudless sun; the season rather cold than cool; the body was braced, and the mind high toned by the state of the weather. Great was the stake, willing were the generals* to put it to hazard, and their armies seemed to support with ardor the decision of their respective leaders.

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* Never did two generals exert themselves more than did these rival leaders upon this occasion. Long withheld from each other by the sagacious conduct of Greene, until he acquired sufficient strength to risk battle, they seized with ardor the opportunity at length presented of an appeal to the sword. This decision was wise in both; and every step taken by the one and by the other, as well in preparation for battle, as in the battle, demonstrated superior abilities.

Greene's position was masterly, as was the ground selected for the combat peculiarly adapted to his views and troops. Cornwallis saw the difficulties thrown in his way by the skill of his antagonist, and diminished their weight by the disposition of his force as far as it was practicable. Having done all that was possible to accomplish their purpose, no attention was omitted, no peril avoided in the course of the action to produce the desired issue. They exposed their persons, unconscious of danger, and self-devoted to national triumph. Upon one occasion Greene was nearly passed by a body of the enemy within thirty paces of him, when major Pendleton, one of his aids, discovered them. Luckily a copse of woods intervened, which covered Greene's return to our line.

Soon afterwards Cornwallis, seeing the discomfiture of one battalion of the guards, repaired in person to direct the measures for the recovery of the lost ground; when, by the dauntless exposure of himself, he was placed in extreme danger. It was upon this occasion that he ordered his artillery to open through his flying guards to stop Washington and Howard. Brigadier O'Hara remonstrated, by exclaiming, that the fire would destroy themselves. " True," replied Cornwallis; " but this is a necessary evil which we must endure to arrest impending destruction."

The British general fought against two to one;† but he had greatly the advantage in the quality of his soldiers. General Greene's veteran infantry being only the first regiment of Maryland, the company of Delaware under Kirkwood, (to whom none could be superior) and the legion infantry; all together making on that day not more than five hundred rank and file. The second regiment of Maryland and the two regiments of Virginia were composed of raw troops; but their officers were veteran, and the soldier is soon made fit for battle by experienced commanders. Uniting these corps to those recited, and the total (as per official return) amounted to one thousand four hundred and ninety; so that even estimating our old and new troops in one class, still our infantry was considerably less than his lordship's. The North Carolina militia, as has been seen, abandoned us; and we had only the Virginia militia and the rifle corps under colonel Campbell and colonel Lynch to balance the enemy's superiority over our regular infantry. In artillery the two armies were nearly equal, as they may be also considered in cavalry; the superiority in number, on the part of the British being counterbalanced by our excellence in quality.

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† Our field return, a few days before the action, rates Greene's army at four thousand four hundred and forty-nine, horse, foot and artillery; of which, one thousand six hundred and seventy were continentals, the residue militia. The enemy rate us at upwards of five thousand. He is mistaken: we did not reach that number, though some call us seven thousand.

Lord Cornwallis's army engaged, is put down at one thousand four hundred and forty-nine infantry; the cavalry has been generally estimated at three hundred; allowing the artillery to make two hundred, it will bring the British force nearly to two thousand; probably the real number at Guilford court-house. Lieutenant colonel Hamilton, with his own regiment, one hundred infantry of the line, and twenty dragoons, was left with the baggage sent off on the evening of the 14th to Bell's mill. The British force in toto may be put down at two thousand four hundred: one hundred less than it was when lord Cornwallis destroyed his baggage at Ramsour's mill, notwithstanding the companies of infantry raised while he lay at Hillsborough and other small accessions. See Appendix, S and S.

The slaughter was prodigious on the side of the enemy, making, in killed and wounded, nearly one third of his army. The official report states the loss to amount to five hundred and thirty-two men, of whom ninety-three were found dead on the field of battle.

Lieutenant colonel Stuart, of the guards, and lieutenant O'Hara, of the royal artillery, brother to the general, with many other officers, were killed.

The brigadiers O'Hara and Howard, lieutenant colonels Webster and Tarleton, the captains Stuart, Maynard,* Goodryche, Maitland, Schuty, Peter, and lord Dunglas, with several subalterns, were wounded; as were captains Wilmonsky and Eichenbrodt, of the regiment of Bose, with five subalterns.

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* We shall here relate an anecdote of the late captain Maynard, of the guards. He was naturally of a cheerful disposition and great hilarity, and in several actions during the course of the war, he had shown great gallantry; but a certain presentiment of his fate on the day of the action at Guilford possessed his mind, which presentiment was too fatally realized. While the troops

Our loss was very disproportionate;* only fourteen officers and three hundred and twelve, rank and file, of the continental troops killed, wounded and missing. As few prisoners were made, it is probable that those

were marching to form the line of battle, he became gloomy, and gave way to despondency. Not less than two or three times did he tell colonel Norton, who commanded the battalion, that he felt himself very uncomfortable, and did not like the business at all. Colonel, now the honorable major general Norton, endeavored to laugh him out of his melancholy ideas, but in vain; for even after the cannonade began, he reiterated the forebodings of what he conceived was to happen. Early in the action he received a wound in his leg. Unable to proceed, he requested Mr. Wilson, the adjutant of the guards, to lend him his horse, that he might ride on with the battalion; and when in the act of mounting, another shot went through his lungs and incapacitated him from proceeding. After being conveyed in a litter to Wilmington, and there lingering a few days, he died of his wounds, greatly regretted.—Stedman.

* The disproportion in loss on this day is readily to be accounted for. We had great advantage in the ground, and were sheltered in various points until the enemy approached very near; while he was uncovered, and exposed from his first step to his last. We had spent the previous day in ease, and the night in rest; he had been preparing during the day, and marching most of the night. We were acquainted with wood and tree fighting; he ignorant of both. And lastly, we were trained to take aim and fire low, he was not so trained; and from this cause, or from the composition of his cartridge, (too much powder for the lead) he always overshot.

returned as missing were killed. Among the first was major Anderson, of the regiment of Maryland, much esteemed and highly regretted; with captain ——— and three subalterns. Among the last was general Huger, commanding the Virginia brigade. Our loss of militia was still less. The four captains * * * * * * * * * * and seventeen privates killed; brigadier Stevens, major ——— three captains, eight subalterns, and sixty privates, wounded. Many were missing, as is always the case with militia after battle; but they generally are to be found safe at their own fire sides. General Greene, after reaching Troublesome creek, arrayed himself again for battle; so persuaded was he that the British general would follow up his blow, and so well satisfied with his own condition, though considerably reduced by the flight of the North Carolina militia, and by the voluntary and customary return of portions of that from Virginia. But the enemy was in no condition to advance. The name of victory was the sole enjoyment of the conqueror, the substance belonging to the vanquished. Truly did the eloquent Mr. Fox exclaim in the British house of commons, "Another such victory would destroy the British army."

On no occasion, in any part of the world, was British valor more heroically displayed. The officers of every grade did their duty; and each corps surpassed its past, though arduous, exertions in this terrible conflict. But the advantage of ground, the weight of numbers, the skill of the general, and the determined courage of such portions of the American army as fought;

presented obstacles not to be surmounted by inferior force. So maimed was the British army, that notwithstanding the flight of the North Carolina militia, had the second regiment of Maryland acted like the first, little doubt can exist but that lord Cornwallis must have shared the same fate on this day, which he experienced afterwards. Afflicting were the sensations of the British general when he looked into his own situation after the battle. Nearly a third of his force slaughtered; many of his best officers killed or wounded; and that victory for which he had so long toiled, and at length gained, bringing in its train not one solitary benefit. No body of loyalists crowding around his standards; no friendly convoys pouring in supplies; his wants pressing, and his resources distant. The night succeeding this day of blood was rainy, dark and cold: the dead unburied, the wounded unsheltered, the groans of the dying, and the shrieks of the living, shed a deeper shade over the gloom of nature. The victorious troops, without tents and without food, participated in sufferings which they could not relieve.* The ensuing morning was spent in performing the last offices to the dead, and in providing comfort for the wounded. In executing these sad duties, the

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* Fatigued as were the British troops by a night march and the late action, after a small rest they were employed in collecting the wounded of both armies, which were indiscriminately taken the best care of the situation would admit; but having no tents, and the houses being few, many of both armies were necessarily exposed to the deluge of rain, which fell during the night; and it was said, that not less than fifty died before morning.

British general regarded with equal attention, friends and foes. As soon as this service was over lord Cornwallis put his army in motion for New Garden, where his rear guard, with his baggage, met him. All his wounded, incapable of moving, (about seventy in number) he left to the humanity of general Greene. Here he issued a proclamation, depicting in strong colors the splendid victory obtained by the British army on the 15th; and calling upon the liege subjects of his Britannic majesty to come forward at this important juncture and contribute their aid in completing the restoration of that happy government, not less the object of their hearts, than the guard of their lives and property. This done, his lordship proceeded on the 18th, by easy marches, to Cross creek; the centre of the Highland settlement, and convenient to Wilmington, then in possession of major Craig, as before mentioned, and the depot of supplies for the royal army.

The retreat of the British general evinced, unequivocally, his crippled condition. No consideration, but conviction of his inability to improve the victory he had gained, would have deterred a general less enterprising than lord Cornwallis, from giving full effect to the advantage his skill and courage had procured. Confident, as was general Greene, that his antagonist had suffered severely, he had not conceived his situation to be so impotent as it now appeared to be. Prepared to renew the combat, had the enemy sought it, he now determined to follow the retiring foe, and bring him to action before he should gain his point of safety;* but this resolution was unhappily for several days delayed through the want of ammunition, with which it was necessary first to supply himself. In the mean time he detached lieutenant colonel Lee with his legion, and the militia rifle corps under Clarke, to hang upon the rear of the retreating general, lest the inhabitants of the region through which he passed might presume that his army had been rendered incapable of further resistance, and might flock to the royal standard.

The advanced corps soon came up with the royal army, which had proceeded very slowly with a view of cherishing its numerous wounded by the collection of every comfort which the country afforded, as well as to avoid fatigue, which the debilitated state of the troops could not bear. Upon the appearance of the light troops, this system was in a degree abandoned; lord Cornwallis conceiving it probable that the American army was not far in the rear, seeking battle, which his situation now made him anxious to avoid. At length he reached Ramsay's mill, on Deep river, where he halted a few days to renew his humane exertions for the comfort of his wounded, and to collect, if possible, provisions for the army; the country between this place and Cross creek being very sterile and sparsedly settled. During this delay his lordship threw a bridge over the river, by which he might readily pass as he moved down on its western bank. Nothing material occurred between the adverse van and rear corps; nor did the British general even make any serious attempt to drive from his neighborhood the corps of Lee; so sorely did he continue to feel the effects of his dearly won victory.

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* Nine o'clock, P. M. March 12th, 1781.

Lieutenant colonel Lee,

Dear Sir,

I have this moment got your note. I am perfectly agreed with you in opinion, that to attack the enemy on their march will be best. I have written to colonel Williams to that purpose.

It will be next to impossible to get the militia to send away their horses. They are so attached to this mode of carrying on the war that they will not listen to any other. Frequent attempts have been made without effect. However, we can try the experiment: sound some of the more sensible on the subject. My letter must be short, as I write in pain.

Your affectionate, &c.

N. Greene.

General Greene lost not a moment in moving from his camp on the Troublesome, after the arrival of his military stores; and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the deepness of the roads, he pressed forward from day to day by forced marches;* but in-

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* Headquarters, 11 o'clock, March 21st, 1781.

Lieutenant colonel Lee,

DEAR SIR,

Your letter dated at New Garden, yesterday, has this moment come to hand. Our army marched yesterday in the direct route for Magee's Ordinary, near the head waters of Rocky river, which will be twelve miles from Bell's mill. We expect to get about two or three miles beyond Passley to night. We have got provisions to draw, cartridges to make, and several other matters to attend to, which will oblige us to halt a little earlier than common.

I beg you will try to forward me the best intelligence you can get of the enemy's situation this morning, and whether they move or not. I mean terruptions, unavoidable, occasionally delayed his progress. When the quarter master general assumed the duties of his station at Guilford court-house, as has been before remarked, all the staff department of the army were entirely deranged; and such had been the rapid succession of keen and active service, that with all the exertions of his laborious application, he had not been able to introduce into full operation his own system, although he had contrived to afford the means of prompt motion to the army. New duties became, ſrom the necessity of the case, connected with his department. Without money to purchase, the subsistence of the troops depended upon compulsory collection from the country through which the army marched; and colonel Davie could with difficulty procure within one day enough for that day; so that the general would be often obliged to extend or contract his march to correspond with the fluctuating supply of provisions. Our difficulties in this line were considerably increased, as the British army had preceded us; and nothing but the gleanings of an exhausted country were left for our subsistence. To settlements which had from their distance escaped the British foraging parties, it became necessary for our commissary gene-

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I mean to fight the enemy again, and wish you to have your legion and riflemen ready for action on the shortest notice. If in the mean time you can attempt any thing which promises an advantage, put it in execution. Lord Cornwallis must be soundly beaten before he will relinquish his hold.

I am, dear sir, &c.

Nathaniel Greene.

ral to resort; and the conveyance to camp of supply when collected devolved upon the quarter master general.

Lieutenant colonel Carrington shrunk not from this new duty; and by his zeal and perseverance contributed greatly to remove an obstacle which had not only retarded the advance of Greene, but sometimes menaced the necessity of a temporary separation of his troops by detaching them to different districts for the procurement of food. The usual method of providing magazines had been necessarily avoided, inasmuch as the enemy heretofore our superior would alone have received the benefit of such arrangement. Surmounting all impediments, Greene at length approached Ramsay's mill; but not until lord Cornwallis had completed his bridge. The American general, having informed lieutenant colonel Lee of the delays to which he was subjected, with directions to obstruct the completion of the bridge, if practicable,—that officer moved from the rear of the enemy in the night, and taking a circuitous route, passed the river ten miles above the British position, with a determination to dislodge the party stationed on its western side for the protection of that head of the bridge. This enterprise was deemed of easy execution; as both the celerity of the movement and the darkness of the night prevented his lordship penetrating the design, and as only two hundred men under a major constituted the guard. Defeating this body by a sudden blow, we might have, in a little time, by axes and fire, so far damaged the work as to have produced one day's further halt, which would have afforded general Greene sufficient time to come up. But well timed as the march of the light corps was, which with much alacrity moved upon the detachment, the major having been reinforced in the course of the night, produced the abandonment of the enterprise. On the subsequent day the British general decamped; and passing the river on his bridge, took the route towards Cross creek. The legion of Lee, with the rifle corps of Clarke, entering into his late camp as the rear guard drew off, prevented the destruction of the bridge. On the subsequent day, the 28th, general Greene reached Ramsay's mill; having failed in his anxious wish to bring the British general to action, in consequence of waiting for ammunition, and the difficulty with which subsistence was obtained.

It was in vain to persevere in pursuit, as the country through which the British general marched, until he reached Cross creek settlement, was so barren and thinly settled as to forbid every hope of obtaining the requisite supplies. Dismissing all his militia, except a small corps from North Carolina, Greene took the decision of reposing his wearied troops in this position, and preparing for the renewal of active service by arrangements tending to secure adequate subsistence.

The campaign so far presents the undulation common to war. It opened with the victory of the Cowpens,—an event very propitious to the United States, which was followed by our perilous retreat through North Carolina, when for many days the fate of Greene and his army hung in mournful suspense; and after a grand display of military science in marches, countermarches and positions, in consequence of the bold return of the American army into North Carolina, concluded with our defeat at Guilford court-house. Replenished in military stores, grown stronger by defeat, and bolder from disaster, the American general is now seen seeking with keener appetite a renewal of the conflict, while the British conqueror seduously and successfully avoids it.

During this trying period, which closely occupied the respective generals, the claims of humanity were not unattended to. The establishment of a cartel, to operate as occasion might require, had long engaged the heart of Greene, and was not unacceptable to Cornwallis. The first was actuated, not only by his disposition to restore to their country our many prisoners, but to cancel obligations, which the inhabitants of the southern states deemed binding, though subversive of the duty which every citizen owes to his country. In the course of British success in South Carolina, a usage prevailed of taking the paroles of the inhabitants in the manner practised often with commissioned officers when taken. In consequence of this custom, the whole population in the conquered states continuing at home, became incapacitated from serving against the enemy: a condition so agreeable to the harassed, the wavering, and the timed, as to be sought with solicitude, and preserved with zeal. Greene determined in his negotiations for the exchange of prisoners to abrogate obligations resulting from a practice entirely inadmissible. He consequently instructed his commissioner, lieutenant colonel Carrington, to repel the recognition of this pernicious and unwarrantable usage, by urging the incapability of an individual to renounce his social obligations by contract with the enemy, unless sanctioned by a public officer. The honorable captain Broderick, aid-de-camp to earl Cornwallis, being appointed on the part of his lordship, met Carrington on the 12th of March; when, after comparing their credentials, the object of the meeting was taken up. It was soon discerned, that the article respecting private paroles, enjoined on his commissioner by general Greene, had introduced an unexpected principle; and being not contemplated by the British commander, his commissioner was not prepared to decide upon it.

Carrington and Broderick agreed therefore to separate for the present, and to meet again as soon as lord Cornwallis should make up his decision upon the proposition submitted.

The battle of Guilford following three days after, the negotiation became postponed; nor was it resumed until the latter end of April; when lieutenant colonel Carrington, and captain Cornwallis, of the thirty-third, (substituted for Broderick) entered upon it with a disposition, by mutual concessions, to conclude the long spun discussion. It was, after some time, happily accomplished; Carrington having engrafted in the cartel the following clause: "That no non-commissioned officer or private, admitted to parole, shall be considered as a prisoner of war, but finally liberated, unless admitted to such parole on the faith of some commissioned officer." The proceedings of the commissioners were ratified by the respective generals, and a general exchange of prisoners soon after took place.

Lord Cornwallis halted at Cross creek, where staying a few days, the friendly Highland settlement zealously contributed from its small stock, every thing necessary for his army which the district afforded. Decamping, he proceeded to Wilmington; to which place he was obliged to go contrary to his original plan; because he found the country about Cross creek too poor to subsist him; and because his troops were suffering for many necessaries to be obtained only in his abundant magazines at Wilmington.

During the march from Cross creek, several of the British officers died of their wounds received at Guilford court-house. Among them were lieutenant colonel Webster, of the thirty-third, and captain Maynard, of the guards. The first escaped, as we have before seen, unhurt, when crossing the Reedy Fork on horse back in the face of a chosen party of marksmen, devoting their undivided attention to his destruction; and the last was that officer, who, by his conversation with his commandant, lieutenant colonel Norton, on the eve of the battle, so strongly manifested a presentiment of his fate.

To be first among the officers in the army under lord Cornwallis must be admitted to be no slight distinction; and this station had been long assigned with one voice to the gallant Webster. To this superiority in arms was combined the winning amiability which virtue in heart and virtue in habit never fail to produce —the embellishment of literature and the manners of polished life. Such a loss was deeply and sincerely deplored. His body was committed to the grave with every honor and attention, accompanied with tears of admiration and affection, in the small village of Elizabethtown, where he died.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, in his Campaigns, very handsomely depicts his worth when he declares, that he "united all the virtues of civil life to the gallantry and professional knowledge of a soldier;" and lord Cornwallis has left an imperishable monument in his letter to the father of the deceased, (so long as the tenderest feeling of sorrow, expressed in language which can only flow from the heart, shall be admired) of his unrivalled respect for the departed hero:—"it gives me great concern to undertake a task, which is not only a bitter renewal of my own grief, but must be a violent shock to an affectionate parent.

"You have for your support, the assistance of religion, good sense, and the experience of the uncertainty of human happiness. You have for your satisfaction, that your son fell nobly in the cause of his country, honored and lamented by all his fellow soldiers; that he led a life of honor and virtue, which must secure to him everlasting happiness.

"When the keen sensibility of the passions begin to subside, these considerations will give you real comfort. That the Almighty may give you fortitude to bear this severest of strokes is the earnest wish of your companion in affliction."

All who know the value of friendship will feel in their own breasts how much lord Cornwallis must have been affected by the loss of Webster. Bred up under him, the lieutenant colonel commandant of the thirty-third (Cornwallis's regiment), every opportunity, with full time, had been afforded for thorough mutual understanding of character. Alike virtuous, amiable and intrepid, the interweavings of affection had reared upon the foundation of their hearts a temple sacred to honor and to friendship.

Throughout six campaigns the public service derived from lieutenant colonel Webster those signal benefits which never fail to accrue from the friendship of men high in station and in genius. Introduced by his illustrious friend to posts of difficulty and consequence, he drew upon himself, by his exemplary discharge of duty, universal admiration. At Quibbletown, in New Jersey, during the eventful winter of 1776—7, he commanded on the line of communication between Brunswick and New York, and preserved it safe in spite of the many attempts to break up his defences. In 1779 he had charge of the post at Verplank's Point: which was comprehended in general Washington's plan of operations when Stony Point was carried. On the ensuing morning the batteries from this eminence, overlooking Webster, were turned upon him, and afforded an unexpected and weighty assistance to the assailant. Nevertheless, such was the circumspection and sagacity with which he had taken his measures, that after a close examination of his situation, it was deemed advisable to withdraw our force, though ready for assault.

In the yet bleeding disaster of Cambden, Webster commanded the right wing of the enemy's army; exhibiting with splendid success the presence of mind, and the discriminating judgment, for which he was conspicuous. And in the late, his last field, he commanded the left wing, and upheld, in full lustre, his eminent fame.

Lord Cornwallis arrived at Wilmington on the 7th of April, where he found major Craig with his small garrison,—perfectly secure, by his judicious defences, from injury or insult, and holding in his care abundant magazines, yielding not only every implement necessary for the further prosecution of the campaign, but affording in profusion all the comforts of food, raiment and liquor, to his worn and faithful troops. Indulging himself yet with the hope that his expulsion of Greene out of that state, followed up by his victory at Guilford court-house, would rouse into action his numerous friends, he continued to urge, by every inducement, the consummation of his wishes. But, taught by the correction of experience, deliberation and caution, the loyalists could not be induced to unite in the British construction of the events of the campaign. They knew that, though driven out of the state, general Greene had speedily returned; they knew that, though vanquished at Guilford court-house, he had shortly turned upon his enemy; and they were not strangers to the eager pursuit arrested but a few days past from the impracticability of procuring subsistence.

With these truths before them, self-love forced the repression of their zeal; and the unceasing vigilance of government* confirmed the salutary decision. The

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* The British writers speak in very severe terms of the cruelties inflicted by the state authorities, and individuals unchecked by government, on the loyalists. The state government was not cruel, although extremely vigilant; and this stigma being unfounded, ought to be repelled. I select two of the many presumed illustrations, which might be produced, of this erroneous, though accredited, accusation. Mr. Stedman tells us, that in the course of his duty he fell in with a very sensible quaker in North Carolina, " who being interrogated about the state of the country, replied, that it was the general wish of the people to be united to Britain; but as they had been so often deceived in promises of support, and the British had so frequently relinquished posts, that the people were now afraid to join the British army, lest they should leave the province; in which case the resentment of the revolutioners would be exercised with more cruelty:—that although they might escape or go with the army, yet such was the diabolical conduct of the people, that they would inflict the severest punishment upon their families. Perhaps, said the quaker, thou art not acquainted with the conduct of thy enemies towards those who wish well to the cause thou art engaged in. There are some who have lived for two and even three years in the woods without daring to go to their houses, but have been secretly supported by their families. Others, having walked out of their houses on a promise of their being safe, have proceeded but a few yards before they have been shot. Others have been tied to a tree and severely whipped. I will tell thee of one instance of cruelty. A party surrounded the house of a loyalist: a

British general found himself completely disappointed, after all his toil and all his danger. They would occa-

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few entered; the man and his wife were in bed: the husband was shot dead by the side of his wife. The writer of this replied, that those circumstances were horrid; but under what government could they be so happy as by enjoying the privileges of Englishmen. True, said the quaker; but the people have experienced such distress, that I believe they would submit to any government in the world to obtain peace." Mr. Stedman assures us that his friend, the quaker, was a man of irreproachable manners, and well known as such to some gentlemen of the British army. But to confirm this tale, he adds another, which he states as known to the whole army. " A gentleman, still residing in North Carolina, and therefore his name is concealed, reported that the day before the British army reached Cross creek a man bent with age joined it. He had scarcely the appearance of being human. He wore the skin of a racoon for his hat, his beard was some inches long, and he was so thin that he looked as if he had made his escape from Surgeons' hall. He wore no shirt; his whole dress being skins of different animals. On the morning after, when this distressed man came to draw his provisions, Mr. Price, the deputy muster master general of the provincial forces, and the commissary, asked him several questions. He said that he had lived for three years in the woods, under ground; that he had been frequently sought after by the Americans, and was certain of instant death whenever he should be taken. That he supported himself by what he got in the woods; that acorns served him for bread; that they had from long use become agreeable to him. That he had a family, some of whom, once or twice in the year came to him in the woods. That his only crime was being a loyalist, and having given offence to one of the republican leaders in that part of the country where he used to reside."

It excites in my mind all the surprise which Mr. Stedman must have felt when he heard these tales, on reading them from his pen. He believed in their truth, I am sure, or he would not sionally visit his camp, and renew their protestations of attachment; but no additional regiment could be

have recorded them; yet it seems to me, to require a stock of credulity not common to soldiers to have seriously regarded either the quaker or the escaped tenant from Surgeons' hall. Suppose Mr. Stedman had doubted for a moment, and the odd tale warranted at least a pause before belief; suppose in this moment of doubt he had asked the quaker, " How came it, that when for two years we have had a post at Cambden, and for months another at Cheraw hills, (both convenient to the district in which Mr. Stedman held this conversation;) that last year the British head-quarters were at Charlotte, and this year lord Cornwallis had traversed the state; how came it that the outlying, maltreated loyalists did not resort to one of the points of safety so near to them? The same patience and caution which secured them from discovery, lying out in the woods for years, could not have failed to secure safe passage to some one of our posts, which required but days."

To this query the quaker would have replied, " Why really, friend, I cannot say; but I assure thee, that I have told thee precisely what was currently reported." If further pressed, the sensible quaker would have added, " I never believed it myself; and I wonder how thou canst take it so seriously."

There is a feature in the quaker's tale, which lieutenant colonel Webster would not have misunderstood had the conversation been addressed to him. It is his bitter sarcasm on British operations, when accounting for the cautious conduct of the loyalists. He speaks of " deception in promise," and " relinquishment of posts." Mr. Stedman seems to have given no attention to this just admonition; but is entirely engrossed with the accusation levelled against the American people; which was nothing more than a report; as the quaker does not say, (the interrogation being omitted by Mr. Stedman,) that he knew any of the particulars stated by him, from his own knowledge. It appears evident to me, that the defamation was only meant as a pleasing supplement to the philippic he had ventured to pronounce against the conduct formed; nor could even Hamilton's North Carolina corps, with all his address and influence, be restored to

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of the war. The quaker goes on to add, that a husband was shot in bed with his wife. Such a thing is possible, but very improbable, and entirely repugnant to the American character, which is tender and respectful to the fair sex. It would not have been difficult for the party to have taken the individual off to a fit place for their purpose, and thus to have spared their own as well as the feelings of an innocent woman. But here again we find the quaker does not assert it from his own knowledge; and yet it is ushered to the world as a truth. To a Briton, who should accredit this fable, I answer, that we are descended with his countrymen from one stock; that he would not believe such stuff told upon an Englishman, and that he ought not to believe it when applied to an American. We have not degenerated by transplantation, notwithstanding Mr. Buffon's reveries, as our short history testifies.

The second anecdote fits so exactly the first, that I should treat it as a fabrication, made to aid the quaker, but for my just respect for the character of Mr. Stedman. Considering it as a real occurrence, I have no doubt but that the unhappy being was deranged. Recollect that he joined the army the day before it reached Cross creek, the centre of an extensive settlement of Highlanders, by Mr. Stedman's own authority devoted to the royal cause. His weak state of body forbad long travel; and his singular dress exposed him to notice and detection if his journey to camp had been from a distance. It clearly results that the Surgeons' hall tenant had been in the vicinity or in the midst of the Highland settlement; and yet from lunacy, I presume, he preferred the solitude of a cavern and the food of acorns to the hospitable fare which distressed loyalists was sure to receive from the Highland emigrants.

Who can believe that a being thus acting possessed his senses? No rational unprejudiced man can so believe. But why did not Mr. Stedman give us the name and place of residence of this miserable? Secrecy in this case was unnecessary; and the fallacy its complement; so unpropitious in the opinion of the loyalists had been the result of the late active and sanguinary operations.

While the British army was enjoying the stores which the providence of its leader had prepared for its use, general Greene continued in his camp at Ramsay's mill. Equally affectionate and equally provident, he could not present to his much loved troops refitments and refreshments so much wanted. No magazines were opened for our accommodation; rest to our wearied limbs was the only boon within his gift. Our tattered garments could not be exchanged; nor could our wornout shoes be replaced. The exhilarating cordial was not within his reach, nor wholesome provision in abundance within his grasp. The meager beef of the pine barrens, with corn ash-cake, was our food, and water our drink; yet we were content; we were

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of the accusation might readily have been confronted with legal testimony. The fact is, that the constitution of the southern people is warmer than that of their northern brethren, or of their late enemy; consequently the war in some parts of Georgia and the Carolinas was conducted with great bitterness among the inhabitants, and some tragical scenes took place on both sides. These were however confined to a few neighborhoods and to a few instances. But the demeanor of the mass of the people was kind and forgiving, the policy of congress and of the state governments humane, and the conduct of the army amiable. Seldom, during the war, was even retaliation resorted to, though often menaced; and surely it cannot be pretended that we had not ample opportunity to gratify such menace if it had comported with our disposition. This lengthy discussion has taken place from a desire to vindicate the national character from unjust detraction.

more than content,—we were happy. The improved condition of the South, effected by our efforts, had bestowed the solace of inward satisfaction on our review of the past; and experience of the lofty genius of our beloved leader, encouraged proud anticipations of the future.

APPENDIX.

A.—Page 6.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL BURGOYNE had been a soldier from early life, and very much distinguished himself in the campaign of 1762, under the count de la Lippe Schomburg, in Portugal, where he established his reputation in arms, signalizing himself particularly by his surprise of the Spaniards at Valentia de Alcantera, and afterwards with colonel Lee at Villavelha. He was an accomplished gentleman, with the advantage of respectable family connexions, and a highly finished education.

B.—Page 6.

MAJOR GENERAL GATES, like his antagonist, had been bred to arms, and served in America during the war of 1755. His course seems to have been *mediocre*. After the peace of 1763 he settled in Virginia, where the revolutionary war found him. Unprovided as were the states with soldiers of experience, general Gates was called forth by the congress of 1775, with the rank of major general; and was appointed adjutant general to the army assembled before Boston in our first campaign.

C.—Page 58.

MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE was born in England, and entered very young into the army,—the profession most congenial to his mind. He served in America, in Portugal, and in Turkey, always respected, sometimes distinguished.

Like his unfortunate friend, lieutenant general Burgoyne, he possessed the confidence and esteem of count de la Lippe, under whose orders, with lieutenant colonel Burgoyne, he was detached to strike at a detached camp of the enemy in the village of Villavelha, during the campaign of 1762, in Portugal; which service was handsomely performed.

In the dispute between the colonies and the mother country, Lee espoused with warmth the cause of the colonies, whose rights he believed to be despotically invaded; and sometime after came over to America. When convinced that the sword must be drawn, he resigned his commission in the British army, and accepted the third station in the American staff, proffered to him by congress. He possessed a sublime genius, highly improved by books and travel; but was eccentric from freedom of thought, which he uttered without reserve; sarcastic without malignity of heart, but with asperity of tongue; and imprudent, from an indisposition to guard himself by cramping mental independence.

D.—Page [illegible]. 184

MAJOR GENERAL BARON DE KALB was a German by birth; and, from the best information obtainable, must have served during the war of 1755 in some of the inferior stations of the quarter master general's department, in the imperial army operating with that of his most christian majesty; it being well ascertained by his acquaintances in our army that he was intimately versed in the details of that department. Towards the close of that war he must have been despatched by the French court to North America, as he has himself often mentioned his having traversed the then British provinces in a concealed character; the object of which tour cannot be doubted, as the baron never failed, when speaking of the existing war, to express his astonishment, how any government could have so blundered as to have effaced the ardent and deep affection which, to his own knowledge, existed on the part of the colonies to Great Britain previous to the late rupture.—A preference, equalled only by their antipathy to the

French nation, which was so powerful as to induce the baron to consider it, as he called it, " instinctive."

Just before the peace our incognitus, becoming suspected, was arrested; and for a few days he was imprisoned. On examination of his baggage and papers, nothing could be found confirming the suspicion which had induced his arrest, and he was discharged.

Such discovery was not practicable; as during this tour, the baron himself declared, that he relied entirely upon his memory, which was singularly strong; never venturing to commit to paper the information of others or his own observations. On the restoration of peace the baron returned to Europe, and came once more to America in 1777 or 1778, recommended to congress as an experienced soldier, worthy of confidence. A brigadier in the service of France, he was honored by congress with the rank of major general, and repaired to the main army, in which he served at the head of the Maryland division very much respected.

Possessing a stout frame, with excellent health, no officer was more able to encounter the toils of war. Moderate in mental powers, as in literary acquirements, he excelled chiefly in practical knowledge of men and things, gained during a long life by close and accurate investigation of the cause and effect of passing events.

We all know that the court of France has been uniformly distinguished by its superior address and management in diving into the secrets of every nation, whether friend or foe, with whom it has relation.

The business of espionage has been brought in France to a science, and a regular trained corps, judiciously organized, is ever in the service of the court. Of this body there is strong reason to believe that the baron was a member, and probably one of the chief confidants of that government in the United States. No man was better qualified for the undertaking. He was sober, drinking water only: abstemious to excess; living on bread, sometimes with beef soup, at other times with cold beef; industrious, it being his constant habit to rise at five in the morning, light his candle, devote himself to writing, which was never intermitted during the day but when interrupted by his short meals, or by attention to his official duty; and profoundly secret. He wrote in hieroglyphics, not upon sheets of paper as is customary in camps, but in large folio books; which were carefully preserved, waiting to be transmitted to his unknown correspondent whenever a safe opportunity might offer. He betrayed an unceasing jealousy lest his journals and his mystic dictionary might be perused; and seemed to be very much in dread of losing his baggage; which, in itself, was too trifling to be regarded, and would only have attracted such unvarying care from the valuable paper deposit. He never failed to direct his quarter master to place him as near the centre of the army as was allowable, having an utter aversion to be in the vicinity of either flank, lest an adventuring partisan should carry off his baggage. What became of his journals is not known; but very probably he did not venture to take them into South Carolina: what is most probable, he placed such as remained in the hands of the French minister for transmission to Paris, when he was ordered to the South.

If he continued to write when marching to South Carolina, his progress must have been slow, as he was necessarily much engaged in the duties of his command, which became multiplied by the extreme difficulty with which subsistence was procurable. Whether his baggage was captured is not known to me; but it cannot be doubted, that his papers did not fall into the possession of the enemy; as in such event we should probably have heard not only of the fact, but also of their contents. x No man surpassed this gentleman in simplicity and condescension; which gave to his deportment a cast of amiability extremely ingratiating, exciting confidence and esteem. Although nearer seventy than sixty years of age, such had been the temperance of his life, that he not only enjoyed to the last day the finest health, but his countenance still retained the bloom of youth; which circumstance very probably led to the error committed by those who drew up the inscription on the monument, erected by order of congress. This distinguished mark of respect was well deserved, and is herewith presented to the reader.

x [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Resolved, that a monument be erected to the memory of the deceased major general baron de Kalb, in the town of Annapolis, in the state of Maryland, with the following inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of the Baron de Kalb, knight of the royal order of military merit, brigadier of the armies of France, and major general in the service of the United States of America. Having served with honor and reputation for three years, he gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind, and to the cause of America, in the action near Cambden, in the state of South Carolina; where, leading on the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware against superior forces, and animating them by his example to deeds of valor, he was wounded in several places, and died the 19th of August following, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The congress of the United States of America, in acknowledgment of his zeal, of his services, and of his merit, hath erected this monument."

E.—Page 156.

William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, was born in the village of Egremont, near White Haven, in England, on the 20th of June, 1756.

His father, visiting South Carolina soon after the peace of 1763, brought with him this son; and, returning to England, confided him to the care of the reverend William Richardson, his maternal uncle; who, becoming much attached to his nephew, not only took charge of his education, but adopted him as his son and heir. At the proper age William was sent to an academy in North Carolina; from whence he was, after a few years, removed to the college of Nassau-hall in Princeton, New Jersey, then becoming the resort of most of the southern youth under the auspices of the learned and respectable doctor Witherspoon. Here he finished his education, graduating in the autumn of 1776, a year memorable in our military as well as civil annals.

Returning home, young Davie found himself shut out for a time from the army, as the commissions for the troops just levied had been issued. He went to Salisbury, where he commenced the study of the law. The war continuing, contrary to the expectation which generally prevailed when it began, Davie could no longer resist his ardent wish to plant himself among the defenders of his country. Inducing a worthy and popular friend, rather too old for military service, to raise a troop of dragoons, as the readiest mode of accomplishing his wish, Davie obtained a lieutenancy in this troop. Without delay the captain joined the South army, and soon afterwards returned home on furlough. The command of the troop devolving on lieutenant Davie, it was at his request annexed to the legion of count Pulaski, where captain Davie continued, until promoted by major general Lincoln to the station of brigade major of cavalry. In this office Davie served until the affair of Stono, devoting his leisure to the acquirement of professional knowledge, and rising fast in the esteem of the general and army. When Lincoln attempted to dislodge lieutenant colonel Maitland from his intrenched camp on the Stono, Davie received a severe wound, and was removed from camp to the hospital in Charleston, where he was confined for five months.

Soon after his recovery he was empowered by the government of North Carolina to raise a small legionary corps, consisting of one troop of dragoons and two companies of mounted infantry; at the head of which he was placed with the rank of major.

Quickly succeeding in completing his corps, in whose equipment he expended the last remaining shilling of an estate bequeathed to him by his uncle, he took the field, and was sedulously engaged in protecting the country between Charlotte and Cambden, from the enemy's predatory incursions. On the fatal 16th of August, he was hastening with his corps to join our army, when he met our dispersed and flying troops. He nevertheless continued to advance towards the conqueror; and by his prudence, zeal, and vigilance, saved a few of our wagons and many of our stragglers. Acquainted with the movement of Sumpter, and justly apprehending that he would be destroyed unless speedily advised of the defeat of Gates, he despatched instantly a courier to that officer, communicating what had happened, performing, in the midst of distress and confusion, the part of an experienced captain. The abandonment of all the southern region of North Carolina, which followed this signal overthrow, and the general despondency which prevailed, have been recorded in the body of this work; nor have the fortunate and active services of major Davie been overlooked. So much was his conduct respected by the government of North Carolina, that he was, in the course of September, promoted to the rank of colonel commandant of the cavalry of the state.

In this station he was found by general Greene on assuming the command of the Southern army; whose attention had been occupied from his entrance into North Carolina, in remedying the disorder in the quarter master and commissary departments. To the first Carrington had been called; and Davie was now induced to take upon himself the last, much as he preferred the station then possessed. At the head of this department colonel Davie remained throughout the trying campaign which followed; contributing greatly by his talents, his zeal, his local knowledge, and his influence, to the maintenance of the difficult and successful operations which followed. While before Ninety-Six, Greene foreseeing the difficulties again to be encountered, in consequence of the accession of force to the enemy by the arrival of three regiments of infantry from Ireland, determined to send a confidential officer to the legislature of North Carolina, then in session, to represent to them his relative condition, and to urge their adoption of effectual measures without delay, for the collection of magazines of provisions, and the reinforcing of his army. Colonel Davie was selected by Greene for this important mission, and immediately repaired to the seat of government, where he ably and faithfully exerted himself to give effect to the views of his general.

The events of the autumn assuring the quick approach of peace, colonel Davie returned home; and having shortly afterwards intermarried with miss Sarah Jones, daughter of general Allen Jones of North Carolina, he selected the town of Halifax, on the Roanoke, for his residence; where he resumed the profession with the practice of law.

F.—Page 42.

Simeon Thayer was born in the town of Mendon, in the county of Worcester, in the state of Massachusetts, on the 21st of April, 1738; and early in life removed from thence to the town of Providence, in Rhode Island, where a few years afterwards he married, and permanently established himself.

No man more uniformly possessed the esteem of his neighbors and acquaintances than did this gentleman, being distinguished for unvarying goodness of heart, rendered peculiarly agreeable by the modesty of his demeanor, and the simplicity of his manners. Bottomed on this solid foundation, his popularity extended as he advanced in life. And when in his twenty-seventh year, resistance to Great Britain became necessary, the determination of Thayer to take the field was anticipated by the spontaneous offer of the command of a company in colonel Hilchcork's regiment of Rhode Island, about to be detached to the American army before Boston. Thayer's merit soon attracted attention: and when Washington projected the arduous enterprise against Quebec, committed to the direction of colonel Arnold for the purpose of co-operating with Montgomery, the choice spirits of his army were selected for the expedition. Thayer could not of course be overlooked: he marched under Arnold at the head of a company, exhibiting, throughout the operation, peculiar fitness in mind and body to meet danger and difficulty. The fall of Montgomery being soon followed by our repulse, Thayer was made prisoner, bravely struggling to carry the second barrier, and experienced in common with his comrades the beneficence extended by sir G. Carleton to the American prisoners,—so truly honorable to the heart and to the head of the British general. Captain Thayer rejoined his regiment as soon as he was exchanged, and went through the war, adding to his early stock of military reputation whenever opportunity offered. He served generally under Washington, by whom he was highly respected.

His conduct in the defence of Mud Island has been briefly touched in the course of this work. It is but justice to add, that the assumption of the command in the desperate condition to which the island was reduced, was in consequence of the voluntary request of major Thayer, displaying as much magnanimity as gallantry.

It was known that the island must soon fall: to defend it to the last moment, and then to save the garrison, was the best which could be done. Few presumed this practicable; and fewer were diposed to undertake the hazardous task. Now Thayer offered himself to brigadier Varnum, commanding our force in New Jersey, which was joyfully accepted; and the gallant major as joyfully repaired to his post.

In the battle of Monmouth the corps to which Thayer was attached was closely engaged; in which contest he was wounded by a cannon ball, which deprived him of the sight of the eye on the side it passed.

Concluding his military life with the war, he returned to Providence; carrying with him the esteem of his fellow soldiers, the gratitude of his country, the admiration of the witnesses of his exploits, and the immutable approbation of the commander in chief. Here he continued to deck the laurels he had acquired in the field of battle by his benevolence, his sincerity, his constancy in virtue, and his modesty in deportment.

The legislature of Rhode Island honored him with the commission of major general in her militia, which he held to his death. In 1796 general Thayer removed from Providence to his farm in the township of Cumberland, where he spent his last years in the exclusive occupations of agriculture. Enjoying good health, with universal esteem, he closed his honorable life, after a short illness, at home, on the 21st day of October, 1800, in the sixty-third year of his age, leaving one son and one daughter. His remains were brought to Providence and interred in the north presbyterian burying ground. His grave is distinguished by a plain white marble slab; emblematic of his deportment through life, and spotless as was his virtue.

G.—Page 9.

Brigadier General Daniel Morgan, of the Virginia line on continental establishment, deservedly ranked among the best and most efficient soldiers of the United States, was born in New Jersey; from whence he emigrated to Virginia in 1755. Like many of the greatest men of every country, his native condition was indigent, so much so as to render it necessary for young Morgan to enter into service as a laborer for daily wages.

Soon after his arrival in Virginia he obtained employment from farmer Roberts, near Charleston, in the county of Jefferson, (then Berkley). Afterwards he was engaged to drive a wagon for John Ashley, overseer for Nathaniel Burrel, Esq., at his estate on the Shenandoah river, in Frederic county, near Berry's ferry. When he left Ashley, Morgan had, by his care and industry, amassed enough cash to purchase a wagon and team; which he did, and soon afterwards entered with it into the employment of Mr. John Ballantine, at his establishment on Occoquan creek. At the expiration of his year Braddock's expedition was spoken of as an event certainly to take place in the course of the ensuing summer. Morgan reserved himself, wagon, &c. for this expedition; when he joined the army, but in what character is not known.

He received, during his military service, a severe wound in the face; the scar of which was through life very visible. We do not understand in what affair this happened; but it was from a rifle or musket, aimed, as he said himself, by an Indian. The bullet entered the back of his neck and passed through his left cheek, knocking out all his hind teeth on that side.

In the course of the campaign he was unjustly punished, by being brought to the halbert, under a charge of contumely to a British officer, where he received five hundred lashes. The officer being afterwards convinced of his cruel error, made every amend in his power to the maltreated Morgan; who, satisfied with the contrition evinced by the officer, magnanimously forgave him. Nor did the recollection of this personal outrage operate in the least to the prejudice of the British officers in the late war. Many of them, as is well known, fell into the hands of Morgan, and invariably received from him compassionate and kind treatment.

The general would often, among his intimate friends, recur to this circumstance; the narrative whereof he generally concluded, by saying, in a jocular way, that " King George was indebted to him one lash yet; for the drummer miscounted one, and he knew well when he did it; so that he only received four hundred and ninety-nine, when he promised him five hundred."

In this period of life, from twenty to thirty years of age, Morgan was extremely dissipated; and spent much of his time in vulgar tippling and gambling houses. However, although habituated to the free use of ardent spirits, he was never considered as a drunkard; and though enamored with cards and dice, he was a cautious player, increasing rather than diminishing his cash fund. This course of life subjected him to many affrays and furious pugilistic combats, in which he never failed to take a leading part. The theatre of these exploits was Berrystown, a small village in the county of Frederic, commonly called Battletown; named, as is generally supposed, from the fierce combats fought on its soil under the banners of Morgan.

Whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that he spent much of his leisure at this place; that he fought there many severe combats; and that though often vanquished he never was known to omit seizing the first opportunity which presented, after return of strength, of taking another bout with his conqueror; and this he repeated from time to time, until at length victory declared in his favor.

Such was the innate invincibility of young Morgan—which never forsook him, when, by the strength of his unimproved genius, and the propitiousness of fortune, he mounted on an extended theatre of action; as replete with difficulty as to him with glory. When he returned from Braddock's expedition he reassumed his former employment, and drove his own wagon. In a few years his previous savings, added to the little he earned in the campaign, enabled him to purchase a small tract of land from a Mr. Blackburn, in the county of Frederic; on which, during our war, he erected a handsome mansion house, with suitable accompanying improvements, and called it Saratoga,—in commemoration of the signal victory obtained by general Gates, to which he had himself principally contributed. On this farm Morgan, having married shortly after his return from his military tour, resided when the revolutionary war broke out.

The smattering of experience gained during Braddock's expedition, pointed him out to the leading men of Frederic, as qualified to command the first company of riflemen, raised in that county in defence of our country. He speedily completed his company, as all the finest youth of Frederic flocked to him; among whom was lieutenant, afterwards colonel, Heth, and many others, who in the course of the war became approved officers. With this company Morgan hastened to the American army encamped before Boston, in 1775, and soon afterwards was detached by the commander in chief under Arnold, in his memorable expedition against Quebec.

The bold and disastrous assault, planned and executed by the celebrated Montgomery against that city, gave opportunity for the display of heroism to individuals, and furnished cause of deep regret to the nation by the loss of the much beloved Montgomery. No officer more distinguished himself than did captain Morgan. Arnold commanded the column to which Morgan was attached, who became disabled by a ball through his leg early in the action, and was carried off to a place of safety.

Our troops having lost their leader, each corps pressed forward as the example of its officer invited. Morgan took the lead, and preceded by serjeant, afterwards lieutenant colonel, Porterfield, who unfortunately fell at the battle of Cambden, when his life might have saved an army, mounted the first barrier; and rushing forward, passed the second barrier, lieutenant Heth and serjeant Porterfield only before him. In this point of the assault a group of noble spirits united in surmounting the obstacles opposed to our progress; among them was Greene and Thayer of Rhode Island, Hendricks of Pennsylvania, and Humphrey of Virginia; the two last of whom were killed.

Vain was this blaze of glory. Montgomery's fall stopped the further advance of the principal column of attack; and the severity of the raging storm, the obstacles of nature and of art in our way, and the combined attack of the enemy's force, no longer divided by attention to the column under Montgomery, overpowered all resistance. Morgan (with most of the corps of Arnold) was taken; and as heretofore mentioned, experienced a different treatment from sir Guy Carleton than was at that period customary for British officers to dispense to American prisoners. The kindness of Carleton, from motives of policy, applied more forcibly to the privates than to our officers, and produced a durable impression. x

While Morgan was in confinement at Quebec the following anecdote, told by himself, manifests the high opinion entertained by the enemy of his military talents from his conduct in this assault. He was visited occasionally by a British officer, to him unknown; but from his uniform, he appeared to belong to the navy, and to be an officer of distinction. During one of his visits, after conversing upon many topics, "he asked Morgan if he did not begin to be convinced that the resistance of America was visionary? and he endeavored to impress him with the disastrous consequences which must infallibly ensue, if the idle attempt was persevered in, and very kindly exhorted him to renounce the ill advised undertaking. He declared, with seeming sincerity and candor, his admiration of Morgan's spirit and enterprise, which he said was worthy of a better cause; and told him, if he would agree to withdraw from the American and join the British standard, he was authorized to promise him the commission, rank and emoluments of a colonel in the royal army." Morgan rejected the proposal with disdain; and concluded his reply

x Vide [illegible]
[illegible]

by observing, "That he hoped he would never again insult him in his distressed and unfortunate situation by making him offers which plainly implied that he thought him a rascal." The officer withdrew, and the offer was never repeated.

As soon as our prisoners were exchanged, Morgan hastened to the army; and by the recommendation of general Washington, was appointed to the command of a regiment. In this station he acted under the commander in chief in 1777, when a select rifle corps was formed out of the others in the army, and committed to his direction, seconded by lieutenant colonel Richard Butler of Pennsylvania, and major Morris of New Jersey,* two officers of high talents, and specially qualified for the enterprising service to which they were assigned. Morgan and his riflemen were singularly useful to Washington; but our loss of Ticonderoga, and the impetuous advance of Burgoyne, proclaimed so loudly the gloomy condition of our affairs in the North, that the general who thought only of the public good, deprived himself of Morgan and sent him to Gates, where he was persuaded his services were most required.

The splendid issue of the subsequent campaign and the triumph of Gates has been mentioned, as well as the instrumentality of Morgan in producing the glorious issue. Great and effectual as were his exertions, general Gates did not even mention him in his official despatches. The cause of this cruel omission was then known but to a few.

General Morgan himself says, that immediately after the surrender of Burgoyne he visited Gates on business, when he was taken aside by the general, and confidentially told that the main army was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the war by the commander in chief; and that several of the best officers threatened to resign unless a change took place. Morgan perfectly understood the views of Gates in this conference, although he was then a stranger to the correspondence which he had held with Conway and others; and sternly replyed, "that he had one favor to ask of him, which was, never to mention that detestable subject to him again; for under no other man than Washington, as commander in

* Vide letter [illegible] [illegible] to Morgan appointing him [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

chief, would he ever serve." From that moment all intimacy between himself and Gates ceased; and when, a few days afterwards, the latter gave a dinner to the principal officers of the British army, among which of course some of ours were mixed, Morgan was not invited.

It so happened that this meritorious officer found it necessary to call upon general Gates in the evening on military business. He was introduced into the dining room; and as soon as he spoke with Gates withdrew, unannounced to his guests. The British officers inquired his name, seeing from his uniform that he was a field officer; and upon being informed that it was colonel Morgan, they arose from the table, overtook him in the yard, and made themselves severally known to him; having, as they ingenuously declared, severely felt him in the field. Thus the slight of Gates recoiled poignantly on himself.

After the return of Morgan to the main army he continued actively employed by the commander in chief, and never failed to promote the good of the service by his sagacity, his vigilance, and his perseverance. In 1780 his health became much impaired, and he obtained leave of absence, when he returned to his family in Frederic, where he continued until after the fall of Charleston.

When general Gates was called to the chief command in the South, he visited Morgan, and urged the colonel to accompany him. Morgan did not conceal his dissatisfaction at the treatment he had heretofore received, and proudly spoke of the important aid he had rendered to him, and the ungrateful return he had experienced. Being some few weeks afterwards promoted by congress to the rank of brigadier general by brevet, with the view of detaching him to the south, he repaired to the army of Gates, but did not reach Carolina in time to take a part in the battle of Cambden. He joined Gates at Hillsborough, and was sent under Smallwood to Salisbury with all the force fitted for service. Gates, as soon as he had prepared the residue of his army, followed, and gave to Morgan, in his arrangements for the field, the command of the light troops.

Greene now arrived as the successor of Gates, which was followed by that distribution of his force which led to the battle of the Cowpens; the particulars of which have been related, and the influence of which was felt in every subsequent step of the war in the Carolinas.

Morgan, when overtaken by Greene on his retreat with his prisoners, had decided upon passing the mountains; a resolution no doubt salutary in its effect, if applied to the safety of his own corps and of the prisoners, but fatal to the operations of Greene, which ought to have guided the deliberations of Morgan, but which seems not to have had its due weight. Greene forbade the measure; which produced a declaration from Morgan, that he would be no longer responsible for consequences: to which the restorer of the South amicably and firmly replied, "neither shall you; for the measure is my own."

Morgan continued at the head of the light troops until the two divisions of the army united at Guilford court-house. There every persuasion and excitement was essayed to induce him to retain his command until the army made good its retreat; but the effort was vain. He left us, and left impressions with many not very favorable to that purity of patriotism essential to round the character of a great soldier. Returning home, he continued in tranquillity with his family, bestowing his attention on the improvement of his farm and his fortune.

When the infatuated transmontane inhabitants of Pennsylvania menaced by force of arms to prostrate the majesty of the laws, and consequently reduced president Washington to the mortifying necessity of arresting their folly and wickedness by the bayonet, Morgan was summoned by the executive of Virginia to the field, at the head of the militia of that state, ordered on this service; having been some years before appointed senior major general by the commonwealth.

On the advance of the army from fort Cumberland and Bedford to pass the Alleghany mountains, general Morgan was charged with the direction of the light troops of the left column.

The ill treatment which his old friend colonel Neville had experienced from a party of the insurgents, the exile of his son-in-law, Presley Neville, and his innate abhorrence of opposition to the laws of his country, whose government he admired in theory and in practice, gave to the mind of Morgan an indignant irascibility which occasionally manifested itself on the expedition to the disquietude of those against whom it pointed. Nevertheless he bridled this adventitious fierceness, and conformed his conduct to the regulations prescribed for the government of the army.

Upon the retreat of the main body, Morgan was left at the head of a respectable corps in the bosom of the insurgents until the ensuing spring; when, by order of the president, they were withdrawn.

The part he took upon this occasion seems to have inspired the general with a desire for political distinction. He was baffled in the first, and succeeded in his second, attempt to obtain a seat in the house of representatives of the United States, from the district of Frederic. Having served the constitutional period he returned to his family, and declined offering as a candidate at the ensuing election.

About this time his health was much impaired, and the robustness of his constitution was gradually sinking. He had previously removed from Saratoga to a farm near his juvenile ground, Berrysville, (Battletown); and after a few years he retired from thence to the town of Winchester for the benefit of his health, which more and more declined. Languishing for some years, he at length closed his eventful life at Winchester.

Brigadier Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious and considerate, unadorned and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed with keen perseverance whatever he undertook. He was indulgent in his military command, preferring always the affections of his troops, to that dread and awe which surround the rigid disciplinarian.

No man ever lived who better loved this world, and no man more reluctantly quitted it. He was in the habit of expressing this feeling to his intimates without reserve, and used to say that he would agree to pass much of his life as a galley slave rather than exchange this world for that unknown. He was the reverse of the great Washington in this respect, whom he very much resembled in that happy mixture of caution and ardor which distinguished the American hero. For the latter, when speaking upon the subject of death, would often declare, that he would not repass his life was it in his option. Yet no man, contradictory as it may appear, valued less his life than Morgan, when duty called him to meet his foe. Stopped neither by danger nor by difficulty, he rushed into the hottest of the battle, enamored with the glory which encircles victory.

General Morgan, like thousands of mortals when nearly worn out by the hand of time, resorted for mental comfort to the solace of religion. He manifested great penitence for the follies of his early life; this was followed by joining the presbyterian church in full communion, with which he continued to his last day. When his remains were interred, an eloquent and appropriate funeral sermon was delivered to a crowded audience by the reverend Mr. William Hill.

H.—Page 164.

Francis Marion, colonel in the regular service, and brigadier in the militia of South Carolina, was born at his father's plantation in the vicinity of Georgetown in South Carolina, in the year 1733. His ancestors were Huguenots, and fled from France to British America upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

They settled on Cooper river near Charleston, from whence the father of general Marion moved to the neighborhood of Georgetown, where he resided during his life, occupied in the cultivation of his plantation.

He had five sons, of whom Francis was the youngest; who, with his brothers, received only a common country education. As his three eldest sons arrived at the age of manhood, they successively obtained a portion of their father's property, after which the old gentleman became embarrassed in his affairs, and was, in consequence, deprived of the means of extending similar aid to his two youngest sons. They had to depend upon their own exertions for support and comfort.

Francis, at the age of sixteen, entered on board a vessel bound to the West Indies, with a determination to fit himself for a seafaring life. On his outward passage, the vessel was suddenly upset in a gale of wind, when the crew took to their boat without water or provisions, it being impracticable to save any of either. A dog jumped into the boat with the crew, and upon his flesh eaten raw did the survivors of these unfortunate men subsist for seven or eight days; in which period several died of hunger.

Among the few who escaped was young Marion. After reaching land, Marion relinquished his original plan of life, and engaged in the labors of agriculture. In this occupation he continued until 1759, when he became a soldier, and was appointed a lieutenant in a company of volunteers raised for an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, commanded by captain William Moultrie, (since general Moultrie). This expedition was conducted by governor Lyttleton: it was followed in a year or two afterwards by another invasion of the Cherokee country by colonel Grant, who served as major general in our war under sir William Howe.

In this last expedition lieutenant Marion also served, having been promoted to the rank of captain. As soon as the war broke out between the colonies and mother country, Marion was called to the command of a company in the first corps raised by the state of South Carolina. He was soon afterwards promoted to a majority, and served in that rank under colonel Moultrie in his intrepid defence of fort Moultrie against the combined attack of sir Henry Clinton and sir H. Parker on the 2d of June, 1776. He was afterwards placed at the head of a regiment as lieutenant colonel commandant; in which capacity he served during the siege of Charleston; when having fractured his leg by some accident, he became incapable of military duty, and fortunately for his country, escaped the captivity to which the garrison was, in the sequel, forced to submit.

When Charleston fell into the enemy's hands, lieutenant colonel Marion abandoned his state, and took shelter in North Carolina. The moment he recovered from the fracture of his leg, he engaged in preparing the means of annoying the enemy then in the flood tide of prosperity. With sixteen men only he crossed the Santee, and commenced that daring system of warfare which has been related in the course of the preceding memoirs.

General Marion was in stature of the smallest size, thin as well as low. His visage was not pleasing, and his manners not captivating. He was reserved and silent, entering into conversation only when necessary, and then with modesty and good sense.

He possessed a strong mind, improved by its own reflections and observations, not by books or travel. His dress was like his address,—plain, regarding comfort and decency only. In his meals he was abstemious, eating generally of one dish, and drinking water mostly.

He was sedulous and constant in his attention to the duties of his station, to which every other consideration yielded. Even the charms of the fair, like the luxuries of the table and the allurements of wealth, seemed to be lost upon him.

The procurement of subsistence for his men, and the contrivance of annoyance to his enemy, engrossed his entire mind. He was virtuous all over; never, even in manner, much less in reality, did he trench upon right. Beloved by his friends, and respected by his enemies, he exhibited a luminous example of the beneficial effects to be produced by an individual, who, with only small means at his command, possesses a virtuous heart, a strong head, and a mind devoted to the common good. After the war the general married, but had no issue. He died in February, 1795, leaving behind him an indisputable title to the first rank among the patriots and soldiers of our revolution.

I.—Page 270.

William Davidson, lieutenant colonel commandant in the North Carolina line, and brigadier general in the militia of that state, was the youngest son of George Davidson, who removed with his family from Lancaster county, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1750, to Rowan county in North Carolina.

William was born in the year 1746, and was educated in the plain country manner at an academy in Charlotte, the county town of Mecklenburgh, which adjoins Rowan.

Like most of the enterprising youth of America, Davidson repaired to the standard of his country on the commencement of our war, and was appointed a major in one of the first regiments formed by the government of North Carolina.

In this character he marched with the North Carolina line under brigadier Nash to the main army in New Jersey, where he served under the commander in chief, until the North Carolina line was detached in November, 1779, to reinforce the southern army, commanded by major general Lincoln. Previous to this event, major Davidson was promoted to the command of a regiment with the rank of lieutenant colonel commandant.

As he passed through North Carolina, Davidson obtained permission to visit his family, from which he had been absent nearly three years. The delay produced by this visit saved him from captivity, as he found Charleston so closely invested when he arrived in its neighborhood, as to prevent his rejunction with his regiment.

Soon after the surrender of general Lincoln and his army, the loyalists of North Carolina not doubting the complete success of the royal forces, began to embody themselves for the purpose of contributing their active aid in the field to the subsequent operations of the British general. They were numerous in the western parts of the state, and especially in the Highland settlement about Cross creek. Lieutenant colonel Davidson put himself at the head of some of our militia, called out to quell the expected insurrection. He proceeded with vigor in the execution of his trust; and in an engagement with a party of loyalists near Calson's mill, he was se-

* [illegible]
William [illegible] Davidson, [illegible]
[illegible] letters to [illegible]
[illegible]

verely wounded: the ball entered at the umbilical region and passed through his body near the kidneys. This confined him for eight weeks; when recovering, he instantly took the field, having been recently appointed brigadier general by the government of North Carolina in the place of brigadier Rutherford, taken at the battle of Cambden. He exerted himself in conjunction with general Sumner and colonel Davie to interrupt the progress of lord Cornwallis in his advance towards Salisbury, and throughout that eventful period, gave unceasing evidences of his zeal and firmness in upholding his falling country.

After the victory obtained by Morgan at the Cowpens, Davidson was among the most active of his countrymen in assembling the militia of his district to enable general Greene, who had joined the light corps under Morgan, to stop the progress of the advancing enemy, and was detached by general Greene on the night of the last day of January to guard the very ford selected by lord Cornwallis for his passage of the Catawba river on the next morning. Davidson possessed himself of the post in the night at the head of three hundred men; and having placed a picquet near the shore, stationed his corps at some small distance from the ford.

This was a deviation from the orders of general Greene, who directed the brigadier to post his whole force close to the shore, under cover of the nearest trees. The cause of this change from the ordered position is not known, though very probably some justifiable reason produced it, as Davidson was in the habit of executing his orders with the utmost precision. The rencontre which ensued in the morning has been related, with its disastrous termination.

The loss of brigadier Davidson would have been always felt in any stage of the war. It was particularly detrimental in its effect at this period, as he was the chief instrument relied upon by Greene for the assemblage of the militia; an event all important at this crisis, and anxiously desired by the American general. The ball passed through his breast, and he instantly fell dead.

This promising soldier was thus lost to his country in the meridian of life, and at a moment when his services would have been highly beneficial to her. He was a man of popular manners, pleasing address, active, and indefatigable. Enamored with the profession of arms, and devoted to the great cause for which he fought, his future usefulness may be inferred from his former conduct.

The congress of the United States, in gratitude for his services, and in commemoration of their sense of his worth, passed the following resolution directing the erection of a monument to his memory.

Resolved, That the governor and council of the state of North Carolina be desired to erect a monument, at the expense of the United States, not exceeding the value of five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late brigadier general Davidson, who commanded the militia of the district of Salisbury, in the state of North Carolina, and was killed on the first day of February last, fighting gallantly in the defence of the liberty and independence of these states.

K.—Page 117.

William Washington, lieutenant colonel commandant of a continental regiment of dragoons during the revolutionary war, was the eldest son of Baily Washington, Esq., of Stafford county, in the state of Virginia.

First among the youth of Virginia who hastened to the standard of his country, on the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies, he was appointed to the command of a company of infantry in the third regiment of the Virginia line, commanded by colonel, afterwards brigadier general, Mercer. In no corps in our service was the substantial knowledge of the profession of arms more likely to be acquired.

Here young Washington learnt the rudiments of war. He fought with this gallant regiment at York island, and on the retreat through New Jersey, sharing with distinguished applause in that disastrous period, its difficulties, its dangers, and its glory. When afterwards the commander in chief struck at colonel Ralle, stationed with a body of Hessians in Trenton, captain Washington was attached to the van of one of the assailing columns, and in that daring and well executed enterprise, received a musket ball through his hand, bravely leading on his company against the arraying enemy.

The commander in chief having experienced the extreme difficulties to which he had been exposed during the preceding campaign, by his want of cavalry, was, shortly after this period, in consequence of his suggestions to congress, authorized to raise three regiments of light dragoons. To the command of one of these he appointed lieutenant colonel Baylor one of his aid-de-camps. To this regiment captain Washington was transferred with the rank of major, and returned to Virginia for the purpose of assisting in recruiting the regiment.

As soon as the corps was completed, Baylor joined the main army; his regiment was, in 1778, surprized by a detachment of the British, led by major general Gray, and suffered extremely. Washington fortunately escaped; and in the course of the succeeding year, or early in 1780, he was detached with the remains of Bland's, Baylor's, and Moylan's regiments of horse to the army of major general Lincoln, in South Carolina, where he was constantly employed with the light troops, and experienced, with some flashes of fortune, two severe blows; first at Monk's Corner, where he commanded our horse, and last at Leneau's ferry, when he was second to lieutenant colonel White,* of Moylan's regiment. These repeated disasters so reduced our cavalry, that White and Washington retired from the field and repaired to the northern confines of North Carolina for the purpose of repairing their heavy losses. It was here that they applied to general Gates for the aid of his name and authority to expedite the restoration and equipment of their regiments, that they might be ready to take the field under his orders. This salutary and proper request was, as has been mentioned, injudiciously disregarded; from which omission very injurious consequences seem to have resulted in the sequel.

After the defeat of general Gates on the 16th of the fol-

× Lt. Col. [illegible] Anthony Walton White [illegible]
[illegible] the New Jersey [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] fortune [illegible]

lowing August, it will be recollected that the American general retired to Hillsborough, from whence he returned to Salisbury.

Lieutenant colonel Washington, with his cavalry, now accompanied him, and formed a part of the light corps placed by Gates under the direction of brigadier Morgan. He resumed his accustomed active and vigorous service, and was highly useful in the execution of the trust confided to Morgan.

During this period he carried, by an extraordinary stratagem, the post at Rudgley's; which drew from lord Cornwallis the following letter to lieutenant colonel Tarleton. "Rudgley will not be made a brigadier. He surrendered, without firing a shot, himself and one hundred and three rank and file, to the cavalry only. A deserter of Morgan's assures us that the infantry never came within three miles of the house."

Greene now succeeded Gates, when brigadier Morgan, with the light corps, was detached to hang upon the enemy's left flank, and to threaten Ninety-Six.

The battle of the Cowpens ensued, in which Washington, at the head of our horse, acquired fresh laurels. He continued with the light corps, performing with courage and precision the duties assigned him until the junction of the two divisions of the American army at Guilford court-house. Soon after this event a more powerful body of horse and foot was selected by general Greene, and placed under colonel Williams, of which Washington and his cavalry were a constituent part.

In the eventful and trying retreat which ensued, lieutenant colonel Washington contributed his full share to the maintenance of the measures of Williams, which terminated so propitiously to our arms, and so honorably to the light troops and their commander. After our repassage of the Dan, Washington and his horse were again placed in the van, and with Howard and Lee, led by Williams, played that arduous game of marches, countermarches, and manœuvres, which greatly contributed to baffle the skilful display of talents and enterprise, exhibited by lord Cornwallis in his persevering attempt to force Greene, at the head of an inferior army, to battle, or to cut him off from his approaching reinforcements and approaching supplies.

We have seen the distinguished part this officer successively bore in the battles of Guilford, Hobkick's Hill, and Eutaws; and we have found him, throughout the arduous campaign of 1781, always at his post, decided, firm, and brave, courting danger, and contemning difficulty. His eminent services were lost to the army from the battle of Eutaws; where, to its great regret, he was made prisoner: nor did he afterwards take any part in the war, as from the period of his exchange nothing material occurred, the respective armies being confined to minor operations, produced by the prospect of peace. While a prisoner in Charleston, Washington became acquainted with Miss Elliot, a young lady, in whom concentered the united attractions of respectable descent, opulence, polish and beauty. The gallant soldier soon became enamored with his amiable acquaintance, and afterwards married her.

This happened in the spring of 1782; and he established himself in South Carolina at Sandy Hill, the ancestrial seat of his wife.

Washington seems to have devoted his subsequent years to domestic duties, rarely breaking in upon them by attention to public affairs; and then only as a member of the state legislature.

He possessed a stout frame, being six feet in height, broad, strong, and corpulent. His occupations and his amusements applied to the body, rather than to the mind; to the cultivation of which he did not bestow much time or application, nor was his education of the sort to excite such habits, being only calculated to fit a man for the common business of life. In temper he was good humored, in disposition amiable, in heart upright, generous and friendly, in manners lively, innocent and agreeable.

His military exploits announce his grade and character in arms. Bold, collected and persevering, he preferred the heat of action to the collection and sifting of intelligence, to the calculations and combinations of means and measures, and was better fitted for the field of battle than for the drudgery of camp and the watchfulness of preparation. Kind to his soldiers, his system of discipline was rather lax, and sometimes subjected him to injurious consequences, when close to a sagacious and vigilant adversary.

The Washington family emigrated from England, and settled in Virginia, always respectable and respected. The consanguinity of its numerous ramifications is involved in doubt; but it is generally believed that they sprang from the same source.

Lieutenant colonel Washington was selected by his illustrious relation when he accepted the command of the army during the presidency of Mr. Adams as one of his staff, with the rank of brigadier general, a decided proof of the high value attached by the best judge in America to his military talents.

Leading a life of honor, of benevolence and hospitality, in the bosom of his family and friends, during which, until its last two years, he enjoyed high health, this gallant soldier died, after a tedious indisposition, leaving a widow, and a son and a daughter, the only issue of his marriage.

L.—Page 32.

Christopher Greene, lieutenant colonel commandant of one of the Rhode Island regiments in the service of congress during the revolutionary war, was born in the town of Warwick in the state of Rhode Island in the year 1737. His father, Philip Greene, Esq., was descended from Jonathan Greene, Esq., one of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts bay. The latter gentleman emigrated from England in the year 1637, and settled in Salem, now a well improved opulent commercial town. Mr. Greene, soon after his arrival, purchased from the Indian Sachems Micantenomon and Socononeo, a part of the township of Warwick called Occupassatioxet, which property is still possessed by some of his descendants. He left three sons, the progenitors of a numerous and respectable race of men, successively distinguished as well by the highest offices in the gift of their country, as by their talents, their usefulness and goodness.

Philip Greene, the father of the lieutenant colonel, was a gentleman of the first respectability in the state, beloved for his virtues, and admired for his honorable discharge of the duties of the various stations to which he was called, the last of which placed him upon the bench as judge of the common pleas in the county of Kent.

A father so situated could not but cherish the intellectual powers of his progeny with the most careful attention.

Christopher received all the advantages in the best line of education procurable in our country, which he took care to improve by the most assiduous application.

He was particularly attached to the study of mathematics, in which he made great proficiency, and thus laid up a stock of knowledge exactly suitable for that profession to which he was afterwards unexpectedly called.

Exhibiting in early life his capacity and amiability, he was elected, by his native town when very young, to a seat in the colonial legislature, which he continued to fill by successive elections until the commencement of the revolutionary war. At this period the legislature wisely established a military corps, styled, " Kentish guards," for the purpose of fitting the most select of her youth for military office. In this corps young Greene was chosen a lieutenant, and in May, 1775, he was appointed by the legislature a major in what was then called " an army of observations"—one brigade of one thousand six hundred effectives, under the orders of his near relation, brigadier Greene, afterwards so celebrated.

From this situation he was called to the command of a company of infantry, in one of the regiments raised by the state for continental service. The regiment to which he belonged was attached to the army of Canada, conducted by general Montgomery, in the vicissitudes and difficulties of which campaign captain Greene shared, evincing upon all occasions that unyielding intrepidity which marked his military prowess in every after scene. In the attack upon Quebec, which terminated as well the campaign as the life of the renowned Montgomery, captain Greene belonged to the column which entered the lower town, and was made prisoner.

His elevated mind illy brooked the ills and irksomeness of captivity, though in the hands of the enlightened and humane Carleton; and it has been uniformly asserted, that while a prisoner, Greene often declared that "he would never again be taken alive;" a resolution unhappily fulfilled.

As soon as captain Greene was exchanged he repaired to his regiment, with which he continued without intermission, performing with exemplary propriety the various duties of his progressive stations, when he was promoted to the majority of Varnum's regiment. In 1777 he succeeded to the command of the regiment, and was selected by Washington to take charge of fort Mercer, (commonly called Red Bank) the safe keeping of which post, with that of fort Mifflin, (Mud island) was very properly deemed of primary importance.

The noble manner in which colonel Greene sustained himself against superior force of veteran troops, led by an officer of high renown, has been particularly related in the body of this work, as also the well earned rewards which followed his memorable defence. Consummating his military fame by his achievements on that proud day, he could not be overlooked by his discriminating leader, when great occasions called for great exertions. Greene was accordingly detached with his regiment with the troops placed under major Sullivan, for the purpose of breaking up the enemy's post on Rhode Island, soon after the arrival of the French fleet under count d'Estaing in the summer of 1778; which well concerted enterprise was marred in the execution by some of those incidents which abound in war, and especially when the enterprise is complicated and entrusted to allied forces, and requiring naval co-operation. Returning to headquarters, colonel Greene continued to serve under the commander in chief, whose confidence and esteem he had truly merited, and invariably enjoyed.

In the spring of 1781, when general Washington began to expect the promised naval aid from our best friend, the ill-fated Louis the XVI., he occasionally approached the enemy's lines on the side of York island. In one of these movements, colonel Greene, with a suitable force, was posted on the Croton river, in advance of the army. On the other side of this river lay a corps of refugees, (American citizens who had joined the British army) under the command of colonel Delancey. These half citizens, half soldiers, were notorious for rapine and murder; and to their vindictive conduct may be justly ascribed most of the cruelties which stained the progress of our war, and which at length compelled Washington to order captain Asgill, of the British army, to be brought to headquarters for the purpose of retaliating, by his execution, the murder of captain Huddy of New Jersey, perpetrated by a captain Lippincourt of the refugees. The commandant of these refugees, (Delancey was not present) having ascertained the position of Greene's corps, which the colonel had cantoned in adjacent farm houses, probably with a view to the procurement of subsistence, took the resolution to strike it. This was accordingly done by a nocturnal move on the 13th of May. The enemy crossed the Croton before day light the next morning, and hastening his advance, reached our station with the dawn of day, unperceived. As he approached the farm house in which the lieutenant colonel was quartered, the noise of troops marching was heard, which was the first intimation of the fatal design. Greene and major Flagg immediately prepared themselves for defence, but they were too late, so expeditious was the progress of the enemy. Flagg discharged his pistols, and instantly afterwards fell mortally wounded; when the ruffians (unworthy the appellation of soldiers) burst open the door of Greene's apartment. Here the gallant veteran singly received them with his drawn sword. Several fell beneath the arm accustomed to conquer, till at length overpowered by numbers, and faint from the loss of blood streaming from his wounds, barbarity triumphed over valor. "His right arm was almost cut off in two places, the left in one, a severe cut on the left shoulder, a sword thrust through the abdomen, a bayonet in the right side, and another through the abdomen, several sword cuts on the head, and many in different parts of the body."

Thus cruelly mangled fell the generous conqueror of count Donop, whose wounds, as well as those of his unfortunate associates, had been tenderly dressed as soon as the battle terminated, and whose pains and sorrows had been as tenderly assuaged. How different was the relentless fury here displayed!

The commander in chief heard with unutterable anguish and deep indignation the tragical fate of his much loved, highly trusted, and faithful friend and soldier, in which feeling the army sincerely participated. On the subsequent day the corps was brought to head quarters, and his funeral was solemnized with military honors, every tongue announcing with sadness of sorrow the magnitude of our loss.

Lieutenant colonel Greene was murdered in the meridian of life, being only forty-four years old. He married, in 1758, Miss Anne Lippit, a daughter of J. Lippit, Esq. of Warwick, whom he left a widow with three sons and four daughters. He was stout and strong in stature, about five feet ten inches high, with a broad round chest, his aspect manly, and demeanor pleasing; enjoying always a high state of health, its bloom irradiated a countenance, which significantly expressed the fortitude and mildness invariably displayed throughout his life.

M.—Page 348.

John Eager Howard, lieutenant colonel commandant of the second regiment of Maryland, was born on the 4th of June, 1752, on the farm settled by his grandfather, Joshua Howard, in the county of Baltimore. This gentleman, when very young, had left his father residing in the vicinity of the town of Manchester in England, to join the army of king James, moving to quell the insurrection headed by the duke of Monmouth. The object being effectually accomplished, young Howard, conscious of having excited the displeasure of his father by his unauthorised departure from home, determined not to return, but to seek his fortune in America. He embarked for Maryland, where arriving, he purchased the tract of land above mentioned, on which he established himself, having intermarried with Miss Joanna O'Carroll, whose father and family had lately settled in the same colony from Ireland. Mr. Howard had a numerous progeny. One of his sons, Cornelius, married Miss Ruth Eager, the daughter of John Eager, the son of George Eager, who possessed an estate adjoining to and now part of the city of Baltimore.

John Eager Howard, the son of Cornelius, was educated in the customary manner of our country, being intended for no particular profession. The dispute between the colonies and the mother country issuing in an appeal to the sword, one of the first measures of defence adopted by the colonies, was the assemblage of bodies of the militia, denominated flying camps. The first of these in Maryland was formed in June, 1776, when young Howard, then twenty-three years of age, offered his services, and received the commission of captain in a regiment commanded by colonel Josias C. Hall. Engaged for a few months only, this corps was discharged in December; before which period congress had prepared a system of defence, requiring from each of the confederate states its proportion of men to be enlisted, organized and disciplined as regular soldiers. The state of Maryland furnished seven regiments, in one of which captain Howard, in obedience rather to the wishes of the state commissioners, empowered to appoint officers, than to his own inclination, was retained. Shortly afterwards these regiments were organized, and captain Howard was promoted to a majority in the fourth regiment, at the head of which was placed the same colonel Hall. In the summer of 1779 he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the fifth, in the spring of 1780 he was transferred to the sixth, commanded by colonel Williams, and after the battle of Hobkick's Hill, he succeeded to the command of the second, in consequence of the death of lieutenant colonel Ford, who never recovered from the wound received in that battle.

In this station Howard continued until the army was disbanded, when he returned to his native state, married Miss Margaret Chew, daughter of Benjamin Chew, Esq. of Philadelphia, and settled on his patrimonial farm near Baltimore, where he now resides, enjoying " otium cum dignitate."

This officer was one of the five lieutenant colonels, on whom Greene rested throughout the hazardous operations to which he was necessarily exposed, by his grand determination to recover the South, or die in the attempt.

We have seen him, at the battle of the Cowpens, seize the critical moment, and turn the fortune of the day;—alike conspicuous, though not alike successful, at Guilford and the Eutaws; and at all times, and on all occasions, eminently useful. He was justly ranked among the chosen sons of the South.

Trained to infantry service, he was invariably employed in that line, and was always to be found where the battle raged, pressing into close action to wrestle with fixed bayonet. Placid in temper, and reserved in deportment, he never lessened his martial fame, by arrogance or ostentation, nor clouded it with garrulity or self-conceit.

Granting to all the applause due to their merits, he enjoyed that due to himself with universal assent.

General Greene, whose discriminating mind graduated, with nice exactitude, the merit of all under him, thus speaks of this officer, in a private letter to his friend in Maryland, dated the 14th of November 1781.

"This will be handed to you by colonel Howard, as good an officer as the world affords. He has great ability and the best disposition to promote the service. My own obligations to him are great—the public's still more so. He deserves a statue of gold no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes. He has been wounded, but has happily recovered, and now goes home to pay a little attention to his private affairs, and to take charge of the fifth Maryland regiment recruiting in your state. With esteem and respect, I am, dear sir, yours,

N. Greene."

O.—Page 277.

Otho Holland Williams was descended from the English stock, his ancestors having emigrated soon after lord Baltimore became proprietor of the colony of Maryland.

His father settled in the county of Prince George, where Otho, his eldest son, was born in the year 1748. His father soon afterwards removed from Prince George to Frederic county, and settled near the mouth of Conogocheaque creek, where himself and wife died, leaving one daughter, and two sons, the eldest of the latter not more than twelve years old. A Scotch gentleman by the name of Ross, having married his sister, Otho was taken under his protection, and was bred up in the clerk's office of the county, a profession which presented better prospects to a young man, than any other office then procurable, under the colonial government of Maryland. Ross dying, colonel Steel of Hagerstown, married his widow, and continued to patronize his wife's brothers. In this situation Williams continued until he was removed just before the war broke out, to the clerk's office in the county of Baltimore, of which he had the principal direction, and the business of which he conducted with exemplary propriety. Anxious to draw his sword in defence of his oppressed country, as soon as the last resort became inevitable, Williams was appointed lieutenant in the company of riflemen raised in the county of Frederic, commanded by captain Price, and marched in 1775 to the American camp before Boston. In 1776 a rifle regiment was formed, of which Stephenson was appointed colonel, Rawlings lieutenant colonel, and Williams major.

Stephenson soon dying, the command of the regiment devolved upon Rawlings, who, with his regiment, formed part of the garrison of Fort Washington, in the state of New York, when assailed by sir William Howe, pushing Washington over the North river. In this attack, the rifle regiment opposed the Hessian column, and behaved to admiration, holding for a long time, victory in suspense, and severely crippling its adversary. The fort was nevertheless carried by capitulation, and its garrison became prisoners of war.

After the surrender of Burgoyne's army, colonel Wilkinson, adjutant general to general Gates, who was personally attached to major Williams, procured his exchange for major Achland, wounded in the first action between the northern armies, and left on the ground, with many others, to the mercy of the American general. While in captivity, Williams became entitled to the command of a regiment, and as soon as he was exchanged, he was placed at the head of the 6th Maryland. The Maryland and Delaware lines having been detached to South Carolina, soon after the reduction of Charleston, colonel Williams accompanied the Baron De Kalb, and after general Gates took command of the army, he was called to the important station of adjutant general to the same. He bore a distinguished part in the battle of the 16th of August, and shared with the general in the bitter adversity of that disastrous period.

When Greene took command of the Southern army, col. Williams was retained in the station he then occupied, which he held to the end of the war, enjoying the uninterrupted confidence of his commander, and the esteem of his fellow soldiers.

Throughout the important campaign which followed, he acted a conspicuous part, and greatly contributed by the honourable and intelligent discharge of the duties of the station which he held, to the successful issue of Greene's operations. At the head of the light troops, during our difficult retreat, he was signally efficient, in holding the army safe until it effected its passage across the river Dan; and after Greene's return into North Carolina, when, to save that state, the American general was constrained to put to hazard his inferior force, he was not less useful in thwarting the various attempts of lord Cornwallis to strike his antagonist. We have seen with what vigour and effect he seconded his general in the fields of Guilford, of Hobkick, and of Eutaws, invariably exciting by his impressive example, officer and soldier to the animated display of skill and courage.

Returning, upon peace, to his native state, the government desirous, (*at that time* common through America,) to reward

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whenever it had the power, those officers and soldiers who continued to the last, bestowed upon this distinguished patriot, the collectorship of the port of Baltimore, the most lucrative office within its gift.

On the adoption of the present government of the Union, Washington was called to the presidency, and of course continued Williams, with whose merit he was particularly acquainted, in his office.

Previous to this epoch, he intermarried with Miss Mary Smith, daughter of William Smith, esq. one of the ancient and most respectable inhabitants of the town, by whom he had four sons, all of whom survived their parents. General Williams' health had, for many years before his death, been very delicate, resulting from the hardships incident to military life, increased in his case by the severe treatment experienced while a prisoner in New York, which was peculiarly oppressive at that period, while Sir Wm. Howe commanded the British forces in America. Vainly attempting by change of climate, and every other advisable measure, to stop the menacing disease, he, unhappily for his country, his family and friends, fell a victim to the pulmonary complaint in July 1794, on his way to the Sweet Springs. His amiable and disconsolate wife soon fell the victim of grief, exhibiting a rare display of the tenderness and ardor of conjugal love.

Brigadier general Williams was about five feet ten inches high, erect and elegant in form, made for activity rather than strength. His countenance was expressive, and the faithful index of his warm and honest heart. Pleasing in his address, he never failed to render himself acceptable, in whatever circle he moved, notwithstanding a sternness of character, which was sometimes manifested with too much asperity. He was beneficent to his friends, but very cold to all whose correctness in moral principle became questionable in his mind. As a soldier, he may be called a rigid, not cruel disciplinarian; obeying with exactitude his superior, he exacted the like obedience from his inferior. He possessed that range of mind, although self-educated, which entitled him to the highest military station, and was actuated by true courage which can refuse as well as give battle. Soaring far above the reach of vulgar praise, he singly aimed at promoting the common weal, satisfied with the consciousness of doing right, and desiring only that share of applause, which was justly his own.

There was a loftiness and liberality in his character, which forbade resort to intrigue and hypocrisy, in the accomplishnt of his views, and rejected the contemptible practice of disparaging others to exalt himself.

In the field of battle he was self-possessed, intelligent, and ardent; in camp circumspect, attentive and systematic; in counsel sincere, deep, and perspicacious. During the campaigns of general Greene, he was uniformly one of his few advisers, and held his unchanged confidence. Nor was he less esteemed by his brother officers, or less respected by his soldiery.

Previous to the disbandonment of the army, congress manifested their sense of Williams' merit and services, by promoting him to the rank of brigadier general, of which event we have his own account, in a letter to his friend, major Pendleton, written in Philadelphia, and dated May 18, 1782.

"MY DEAR PENDLETON,

"Your laconic epistle of the 20th April was handed to me by general St. Clair, in the situation you wished. Involved in a scene of the most agreeable amusements, I have scarcely had time for reflection, therefore, if I have been guilty of any omissions towards you, or any other of my Southern friends, I hope it will be imputed to the infatuating pleasures of the metropolis.

"My promotion, (for which I am principally indebted to my invaluable friend, general Greene,) might prove the efficacy of making a short campaign to court, (especially as it had been once rejected) if the circumstances which attended it, did not too evidently discover how much the greatest men are actuated by caprice, and how liable the most respectable bodies are to inconsistencies. Upon the application of general Greene, seconded by the recommendation of Washington, the votes of congress were taken, whether I should or should not be made a brigadier, in consequence of former resolves, which very clearly, in my opinion, gave me a right to promotion. It was resolved in the negative. Upon the second motion in congress, the same letters were re-considered, and the man whose legal claim was rejected, (because it was inconvenient, or might give umbrage to others,) is promoted in consideration of his distinguished talents and services. I wish I may be always able to justify and maintain an opinion that does me so much honour. If congress will please to wink at my imperfections, I will be careful not to meddle with theirs.

S.—Page 354.

GENERAL GREENE'S OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF GUILFORD, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at the Iron Works, *March* 16, 1781.

Sir,

"On the 10th, I wrote to his excellency general Washington, from the High Rock ford, on the Haw river, a copy of which I enclosed your excellency, that I had effected a junction with a continental regiment of eighteen months men, and two considerable bodies of militia, belonging to Virginia and North Carolina. After this junction, I took the resolution of attacking the enemy without loss of time, and made the necessary disposition accordingly, being persuaded, that if we were successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy, and, if otherwise, it would only prove a partial evil to us.

The army marched from the High Rock ford on the 12th, and on the 14th arrived at Guilford. The enemy lay at the Quaker meeting-house, on Deep River, eight miles from our camp. On the morning of the 15th, our reconnoitring party reported the enemy advancing on the great Salisbury road. The army was drawn up in three lines. The line was composed of North Carolina militia, under the command of generals Butler and Eaton. The second line of Virginia militia, commanded by generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades, one of Virginia, and one of Maryland continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. Lieutenant colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen, under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of our right flank. Lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen, under colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of our left flank.

The greater part of this country is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed here and there. The army was drawn up on a large hill of ground, surrounded by other hills, the greatest part of which was covered with timber and thick under-brush. The front line was posted with two field pieces, just on the edge of the woods, and the back of a fence which ran parallel with the line, with an open field directly in their front. The second line was in the woods, about three hundred yards in the rear of the first, and the continental troops about four hundred yards in the rear of the second, with a double front, as the hill drew to a point where they were posted; and on the right and left were two old fields. In this position we waited the approach of the enemy, having previously sent off the baggage to this place, appointed for our rendezvous in case of a defeat. Lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, his infantry, and part of his riflemen, met the enemy on their advance, and had a severe skirmish with lieutenant colonel Tarleton, in which the enemy suffered greatly. Captain Armstrong charged the British legion, and cut down near thirty of their dragoons; but as the enemy reinforced their party, lieutenant colonel Lee was obliged to retire, and take his position in the line.

The action commenced by cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes; when the enemy advanced in three columns: the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant colonel Webster's brigade on the left. The whole moved through the old fields to attack the North Carolina brigades, who waited the attack until the enemy got within one hundred and forty yards, when part of them began to fire; but a considerable part left the ground without firing at all. The general and field officers did all they could to induce the men to stand their ground; but neither the advantages of the position, nor any other consideration could induce them to stay. General Stevens and general Lawson and the field officers of those brigades were more successful in their exertions. The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general almost every where. The corps of observation, under Washington and Lee, were warmly engaged, and did great execution. In a word, the engagement was long and severe, and the enemy only gained their point by superior discipline.

They having broken the second Maryland regiment and turned our left flank, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appearing to be gaining on our right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, I thought it most advisable to order a retreat. About this time lieutenant colonel Washington made a charge with the horse upon a part of the brigade of guards, and the first regiment of Marylanders, commanded by colonel Gunby, and seconded by lieutenant colonel Howard, followed the horse with their bayonets; near the whole of the party fell a sacrifice. General Huger was the last that was engaged, and gave the enemy a check. We retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action, and then halted, and drew up the troops, until we collected most of the stragglers. We lost our artillery, and two ammunition wagons, the greater part of the horses being killed before the retreat began, and it being impossible to move the pieces but along the great road. After collecting our stragglers, we retired to this camp, ten miles distant from Guilford.

From the best information I can get, the enemy's loss is very great; not less, in killed and wounded, than six hundred men, besides some few prisoners that we brought off.

Inclosed I send your excellency a return of our killed, wounded and missing. Most of the latter have gone home, as is but too customary with the militia after an action. I cannot learn that the enemy has got any considerable number of prisoners. Our men are all in good spirits, and in perfect readiness for another field day.

I only lament the loss of several valuable officers, who are killed and wounded in the action. Among the latter are general Stephens, shot through the thigh, and general Huger in the hand; and among the former is major Anderson, one of the Maryland line.

The firmness of the officers and soldiers, during the whole campaign, has been unparalleled. Amidst innumerable difficulties they have discovered a degree of magnanimity and fortitude that will for ever add a lustre to their military reputation."

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Guilford, *March* 17, 1781.

My Lord,

" I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that his majesty's troops under my command obtained a signal victory on the 15th instant, over the rebel army commanded by general Greene.

In pursuance of my intended plan communicated to your lordship in my despatch No. 7, I had encamped on the 13th instant at the quaker's meetinghouse, between the forks of Deep river. On the 14th I received information that general Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia, and the expected reinforcements from Virginia, said to consist of a Virginia state regiment, a corps of Virginia eighteen months men, three thousand Virginia militia and recruits for the Maryland line, had joined general Greene; and the whole army, which was reported to amount to nine or ten thousand men, was marching to attack the British troops. During the afternoon, intelligence was brought, which was confirmed in the night, that he had advanced that day to Guilford, about twelve miles from our camp. Being now persuaded that he had resolved to hazard an engagement, after detaching lieutenant colonel Hamilton with our wagons and baggage, escorted by his own regiment, a detachment of one hundred infantry and twenty cavalry, towards Bell's mill; on Deep river, I marched with the rest of the corps at day break on the morning of the 15th, to meet the enemy, or attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guilford our advanced guard, commanded by lieutenant colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the enemy, consisting of Lee's legion, some back mountainmen and Virginia militia, which he attacked with his usual good conduct and spirit, and defeated; and continuing our march, we found the rebel army posted on rising grounds, about a mile and a half from the court-house. The prisoners taken by lieutenant colonel Tarleton having been several days with the advanced corps, could give me no account of the enemy's order or position, and the country people were extremely inaccurate in their description of the ground. Immediately between the head of the column and the enemy's line was a considerable plantation; one large field of which was on our left of the road, and two others, with a wood of about two hundred yards broad, between them, on our right of it; beyond these fields the wood continued for several miles to our right. The wood beyond the plantation in our front, in the skirt of which the enemy's first line was formed, was about a mile in depth, the road then leading to an extensive space of cleared ground about Guilford court-house. The woods on our right and left were reported to be impracticable for our cannon; but as that on our right appeared the most open, I resolved to attack the left wing of the enemy; and whilst my disposition was making for that purpose, I ordered lieutenant M'Cleod to bring forward the guns and cannonade their centre.

The attack was directed to be made in the following order: On the right the regiment of Bose and the seventy-first regiment, led by major general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards, commanded by brigadier O'Hara; the yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in the wood on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require. Our preparations being made, the action began at about half an hour past one in the afternoon. Major general Leslie, after being obliged, by the great extent of the enemy's line, to bring up the first battalion of guards to the right of the regiment of Bose, soon defeated every thing before him; lieutenant colonel Webster having joined the left of major general Leslie's division, was no less successful in his front; when, on finding that the left of the thirty-third was exposed to a heavy fire from the right wing of the enemy, he changed his front to the left; and, being supported by the yagers and light infantry of the guards, attacked and routed it; the grenadiers and second battalion of the guards moving forward to occupy the ground left vacant by the movement of lieutenant colonel Webster.

All the infantry being now in the line, lieutenant colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered our bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken enemy to make frequent stands, with an irregular fire, which occasioned some loss, and to several of the corps great delay, particularly on our right, where the first battalion of the guards and regiment of Bose were warmly engaged in front, flank, and rear, with some of the enemy that had been routed on the first attack, and with part of the extremity of their left wing, which, by the closeness of the woods, had been passed unbroken. The seventy-first regiment, and grenadiers, and second battalion of the guards, not knowing what was passing on their right, and hearing the fire advance on their left, continued to move forward, the artillery keeping pace with them on the road, followed by the cavalry. The second battalion of guards first gained the clear ground near Guilford court-house, and found a corps of continental infantry, much superior in number, formed in the open field on the left of the road. Glowing with impatience to signalize themselves, they instantly attacked and defeated them, taking two six pounders; but pursuing into the wood with too much ardor, were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and immediately charged and driven back into the field by lieutenant colonel Washington's dragoons with the loss of the six pounders they had taken. The enemy's cavalry was soon repulsed by a well directed fire from two three pounders, just brought up by lieutenant M'Cleod, and by the appearance of the grenadiers of the guards and the seventy-first regiment, which, having been impeded by some deep ravines, were now coming out of the wood on the right of the guards, opposite to the court-house. By the spirited exertions of brigadier general O'Hara, though wounded, the second battalion of the guards was soon rallied, and, supported by the grenadiers, returned to the charge with the greatest alacrity. The twenty-third regiment arriving at that instant from our left, and lieutenant colonel Tarleton having advanced with part of the cavalry, the enemy were soon put to flight, and the two six pounders once more fell into our hands; two ammunition wagons, and two other six pounders, being all the artillery they had in the field, were likewise taken. About this time, the thirty-third regiment and light infantry of the guards, after overcoming many difficulties, completely routed the corps which was opposed to them, and put an end to the action in this quarter. The twenty-third and seventy-first regiments, with part of the cavalry, were ordered to pursue; the remainder of the cavalry was detached with lieutenant colonel Tarleton to our right, where a heavy fire still continued, and where his appearance and spirited attack contributed much to a speedy termination of the action. The militia with which our right wing had been engaged, dispersed in the woods; the continentals went off by the Reedy Fork, beyond which it was not in my power to follow them, as their cavalry had suffered but little. Our troops were excessively fatigued by an action which lasted an hour and a half, and our wounded dispersed over an extensive space of country, required immediate attention. The care of our wounded, and the total want of provisions in an exhausted country, made it equally impossible for me to follow the blow the next day. The enemy did not stop until they got to the iron works on Troublesome creek, eighteen miles from the field of battle.

From our observation and the best accounts we could procure, we did not doubt but the strength of the enemy exceeded seven thousand men; their militia composed their line, with parties advanced to the rails of the field in their front; the continentals were posted obliquely in the rear of their right wing. Their cannon fired on us whilst we were forming from the centre of the line of militia, but were withdrawn to the continentals before the attack.

I have the honor to inclose to your lordship the list of our killed and wounded. Captain Schutz's wound is supposed to be mortal; but the surgeons assure me that none of the other officers are in danger; and that a great number of the men will soon recover. I cannot ascertain the loss of the enemy, but it must have been considerable; between two and three hundred dead were left upon the field; many of their wounded that were able to move, whilst we were employed in the care of our own, escaped and followed the routed enemy; and our cattle, drivers, and forage parties, have reported to me that the houses, in a circle of six or eight miles around us, are full of others. Those that remained we have taken the best care of in our power. We took few prisoners, owing to the excessive thickness of the wood facilitating their escape, and every man of our army being repeatedly wanted for action.

The conduct and actions of the officers and soldiers that compose this little army will do more justice to their merit than I can by words. Their persevering intrepidity in action, their invincible patience in the hardships and fatigues of a march of above six hundred miles, in which they have forded several large rivers and numberless creeks, many of which would be reckoned large rivers in any other country in the world, without tents or covering against the climate, and often without provisions, will sufficiently manifest their ardent zeal for the honor and interest of their sovereign and their country.

I have been particularly indebted to major general Leslie for his gallantry and exertion in the action, as well as his assistance in every other part of the service. The zeal and spirit of brigadier general O'Hara merit my highest commendations; for after receiving two dangerous wounds, he continued in the field whilst the action lasted; by his earnest attention on all other occasions, seconded by the officers and soldiers of his brigade. His majesty's guards are no less distinguished by their order and discipline than by their spirit and valor.

The Hessian regiment of Bose deserves my warmest praises for its discipline, alacrity and courage, and does honor to major du Buy, who commands it, and who is an officer of superior merit. I am much obliged to brigadier general Howard, who served as a volunteer, for his spirited example on all occasions.

Lieutenant colonel Webster conducted his brigade like an officer of experience and gallantry. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton's good conduct and spirit, in the management of his cavalry, were conspicuous during the whole action; and lieutenant M'Cleod, who commanded the artillery, proved himself upon this, as well as all former occasions, a most capable and deserving officer.

The attention and exertions of my aid-de-camps, and of all the other public officers of the army, contributed very much to the success of the day.

I have constantly received the most zealous assistance from governor Martin during my command in the southern district: hoping that his presence would tend to incite the loyal subjects of this province to take an active part with us, he has cheerfully submitted to the fatigues and dangers of our campaign; but his delicate constitution has suffered by his public spirit; for, by the advice of the physicians, he is now obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health.

This part of the country is so totally destitute of subsistence, that forage is not nearer than nine miles, and the soldiers have been two days without bread. I shall, therefore, leave about seventy of the worst of the wounded cases at the New Garden quaker meetinghouse with proper assistance, and move the remainder with the army to-morrow morning to Bell's mill. I hope our friends will heartily take an active part with us, to which I shall continue to encourage them;

still approaching our shipping by easy marches, that we may procure the necessary supplies for further operations, and lodge our sick and wounded where proper attention can be paid to them.

This despatch will be delivered to your lordship by my aid-de-camp, captain Brodrick, who is a very promising officer, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's countenance and favor, &c."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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T. B. M. Mason.